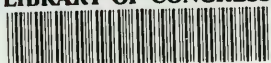


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Whig party. Virginia

ADDRESS OF THE WHIG CONVENTION

FOR

THE NOMINATION OF ELECTORS,

TO

THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

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Cover

ADDRESS

OF THE WHIG CONVENTION FOR THE NOMINATION OF ELECTORS, TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—In conformity with the usage of all parties in Virginia, since the passage of the law requiring the people to vote for Electors of President and Vice President of the United States by general ticket, we have assembled at the Capitol of the State, for the purpose of suggesting to you the names of persons proper to be placed upon the said ticket as Electors, and respectfully to commend them, as we now do, to your suffrages. Having selected men of fair and upright character, of competent ability to perform properly the service, who are known to us all as men of sound republican principles, the best commendation which we can make of them, will be to submit to your calm and deliberate consideration, some of the facts and reasons which induce us to desire, and earnestly to recommend to the people of Virginia, as we now do, the election of Electors who are opposed to the re-election of Martin Van Buren.

This duty we propose to perform, candidly, and temperately, though freely; and we ask of you a calm and unprejudiced hearing.

Citizens as we all are of the same country, and more especially of this honored and ancient Commonwealth, the ends and objects of the people, for the most part, we cannot but believe to be the same; for the great body of the people of all parties we believe to be equally patriotic and virtuous, equally devoted to their country and to liberty. The great difference between us is the result, therefore, of the different views taken by different persons of the means proper to attain the desired ends, and this difference in respect to the means, we believe to be caused chiefly by the arts and misrepresentations of heated partisans and unprincipled demagogues.

Addressing ourselves, as we do, to the people of Virginia, without distinction of party, upon matters of deep import to all; appealing, as we do, to all the sons of Virginia for aid to the common cause, we hope to show that, while we are cordial supporters of WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON and JOHN TYLER for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States, we enter into their support, not with the temper of partisans, but in the spirit of freemen, sustaining a constitutional Republic; and we hope to be able to correct many of the misrepresentations of the demagogue.

The practice of the country for many years, and unfortunately the very frame and structure of our Federal Government, acting upon the known and almost universal traits of man, have made the Presidential election, at and near the periods of its recurrence, not only a deeply agitating, but all-absorbing topic, casting, for the time, all others into the shade, and portending already the most disastrous effects to the political principles and morals of the country.

By the constitution of the United States, the power of the President is too great, as many of the sternest and most sagacious patriots of the Revolution proclaimed, when it was first submitted to their consideration. The patronage of the office then, practically trivial, but capable of expansion to a dangerous and anti-republican extent, in any hands, and now proven to be almost illimitable in the hands of a wily and unscrupulous partisan, was one of the largest sources of apprehension, and was denounced by many of those whom Virginia, as well as others of the States, trusted in those days of difficulty and danger, but of republican sim-

plicity ; but, as far as we know, the wildest conception of the most apprehensive, never pictured, even to itself, the monstrous and overshadowing power which the President now exercises, and with which he presses down and prostrates the energies of the country.

In the early days of the Republic, when the men who quailed not for their country, in the face of legions sent by a tyrant to subdue it, yet trembled for its safety as they contemplated the power with which it must contend at home, and thought they saw the enemy of its liberty lurking within the robes of our "princely President," the President of the United States was the President of the *nation*. Now, he is the President of a party—the leader of a great faction, who considers the patronage of the Government as the pay of his followers, and the offices, honors, and emoluments of the nation, as the spoil of the successful band. Can it be wondered at, then, that the election of President is not only an agitating, but an all-engrossing topic ? Is it possible for any patriot to contemplate the fact, and the causes which have made it, without the deepest regret for that which is, and the most painful apprehensions for the future ?

Fellow-citizens, we desire to arrest this torrent, which threatens to sweep away all the land-marks of our Government. We would curb and chain the monster that now controls too much our destinies, and, in the end, will destroy our liberty. We would limit power, and, if possible, purify it. But these things can be done only by the *People*—and to the *People*, therefore, we appeal.

One of the first and most important steps to be taken to accomplish the object, we are satisfied, is to limit practically, if not by an amendment to the constitution, the power and service of the President to *one term*. Make him the President of the nation, by depriving him of a party—compel him to be honest, by withdrawing the temptation to be vicious—force him to administer the Government as the honored agent of a free people, and not as a guilty partisan, by depriving him of the hopes and consolation of a re-election. Leave him, if he abuse his trust, to the scorn and curses of his countrymen, to torture his declining years ; and let his hope be, that, by a faithful, just, and mild administration of the laws, he shall merit, and receive as certainly as he merits, the highest reward of the patriot—the applause of an *intelligent*, free, and grateful people.

The habitual electioneerer, when without power, ceases to be the independent statesman, and eventually is corrupted ; but when the President of the United States becomes the chief electioneerer in the country, the business of the statesman is at an end, and vice and corruption must prevail. The office, which should be conferred upon him who is most competent, and who would defend his country and her institutions against the President, is bestowed upon the satellite, who reflects only the lustre of his major orb, or the servile suitor, who deems the highest duty of a patriot is to follow in the footsteps of his master. Fidelity to the *President*, and not to the *People*, becomes the test of fitness for the *office* created by the people ; and if the officer of the President dares become a patriot, and thinks it right to serve the people and protect their interests, thanks to the power of the people, and not the mercy of his "princely President," if he be not expelled, denounced, and degraded.

The officers of the country should be the servants of the People, not the President. The interests of the people can never be properly served or guarded otherwise. If power will not permit us to make the officer independent of the President, let him be protected by removing from the President the inducement to corrupt him. This will be the case when the President knows that he cannot be re-elected ; and the hope of the officer to retain his place must depend upon his fidelity to his trust, and his ability in the discharge of it.

The first great and important ground, fellow-citizens, upon which we ask you to unite with us in the support of General Harrison and John Tyler is, that they stand pledged, as deeply as men can be—so deeply that universal scorn must at-

tend the violation of the pledge—not to be candidates for a re-election—to *serve but a single term*. The constitution authorizes the re-election of the President of the United States without limitation. That man who never loved but only tolerated power, that he might do good with it, saw the error of the provision, and the dangers concealed in it; and he who almost gave us our liberty, gave us practically a constitution to preserve it, by renouncing the power which was dangerous to it, and retiring voluntarily to private life. Hallowed by the name and example of Washington, the maxim has been preserved as one of our fundamental laws, and the precedent stands the proudest monument to the fame of him whose proudest title was, “the Father of his Country.”

The safety of the Republic demands another ennobling sacrifice; and happy we are, fellow-citizens, to be able to draw upon those times in which the sacrifice of every personal interest to the service of the country was considered a triumph, for one who is willing, as his past life proves he is able, to make the sacrifice. One who received his first commission to battle in his country's ranks against a ruthless foe, from the hands of Washington himself; who was trained and nurtured in that school in which patriotism was the first great lesson. A venerable patriot, distinguished alike as a soldier and citizen in the service of his country; who, by the last act of his public life, is ready to prove that the maxims of Washington and Jefferson have sunk deeply into his heart, and that with his years and honors, his love of liberty has grown and increased.

Coming from the times of the Revolution, commended to you by the confidence of Washington and Jefferson, and a long and perilous life devoted to the service of his country, General Harrison is the proper man to set a new example to his countrymen; to subdue the purposes of ambition to the welfare of his country; and in the hands, and by the aid of the people, to put a new limit to power. We invite you, then, fellow-citizens, to unite with us in the support of this venerable and virtuous citizen, and to *limit the Presidential power to one term*.

To show that General Harrison will, by his example, do this, we submit to you the following letter written by him in the year 1838:

He says:—“Among the principles proper to be adopted by any Executive sincerely desirous to restore the administration to its original simplicity and purity, I deem the following to be of prominent importance:

“1. To confine his services to a single term.

“2. To disclaim all right of control over the public treasure, with the exception of such part of it as may be appropriated by law to carry on the public services, and that to be applied precisely as the law may direct, and drawn from the Treasury agreeably to the long established forms of that Department.

“3. That he should never attempt to influence the elections, either by the people or the State Legislatures, nor suffer the Federal officers under his control to take any other part in them than by giving their own votes when they possess the right of voting.

“4. That in the exercise of the veto power, he should limit his rejection of bills to—1st. Such as are, in his opinion, unconstitutional. 2d. Such as tend to encroach on the rights of the States or individuals. 3d. Such as, involving deep interests, may, in his opinion, require more mature deliberation or reference to the will of the people, to be ascertained at the succeeding elections.

“5. That he should never suffer the influence of his office to be used for purposes of a purely party character.

“6. That in removal from office of those who hold appointments during the pleasure of the Executive, the cause of such removal should be stated, if requested, to the Senate, at the time the nomination of a successor is made.

“And last, but not least in importance,

“7. That he should not suffer the Executive Department of the Government to become the source of legislation; but leave the whole business of making laws for the Union to the department to which the constitution has exclusively assigned it, until they have assumed that perfected shape, where and when alone the opinions of the Executive may be heard.

“The question may perhaps be asked of me, what security I have in my power to offer, if the majority of the American people should select me for their Chief Magistrate, that I would adopt the principles which I have herein laid down as those upon which my Administration would be conducted. I could only answer by referring to my conduct, and the disposition manifested in

the discharge of the duties of several important offices which have heretofore been conferred upon me. If power placed in my hands has ever, on a single occasion, been used for any purpose other than that for which it was given, or retained longer than was necessary to accomplish the objects designated by those from whom the trust was received, I will acknowledge that either will constitute a sufficient reason for discrediting any promise I may make, under the circumstances in which I am now placed."

We ask you carefully to consider the sentiments above expressed by General Harrison, and say if they are not patriotic and wise—if they are not republican—eminently republican—and evincive of the temper and spirit which should characterize the first officer of a Government like ours. They are sentiments, which, while they evince a determination to enforce the constitutional powers of the President, manifest, in the true spirit, an unwillingness to extend those powers, and a determination to limit them in practice; not to prostitute the power and patronage of the Government to party purposes; and, above all, to preserve pure and free from the corrupting influences of power, the *Elective franchise*. In these sentiments there is every thing to commend, every thing to hope for. The man who entertaining them is elected for one term only, will have no motive to renounce or betray them. Is there a genuine Republican who condemns them?

Contrast them with the principles and practices of Mr. Van Buren. He is in favor of re-electing the President, and is a candidate for re-election. He defends the right of Federal office-holders to interfere in elections; and his friends in the Senate and elsewhere denounce any attempt to prevent it.

He prostitutes the influence of his office to party purposes, and retains men in office upon party grounds, who are not only incompetent, but vicious and faithless.

He claims and exercises the power to remove officers at will, and none escape who oppose him. He retains now the most dangerous control over the public treasure, and is the advocate and supporter of a system which will give to the Executive almost absolute control over it in future; and, instead of suggesting simply such laws as Congress may and should pass, he seeks to control the legislation of Congress by the promulgation and enforcement of favorite doctrines, and the most arrogant and unwarrantable interference with the rights and privileges of the States. But, above all, has Mr. Van Buren any where, or in any manner, evinced the disposition to restore "the Administration to its original simplicity and purity," which General Harrison declares to be, in his opinion, a duty? On the contrary, has not every power of the Federal Government been practically increased and extended under Mr. Van Buren's administration? Has there not been the most lavish and wasteful expenditure of public money? and so far from any purity in the Administration, has not the country been disgraced by more frauds upon, and robbery of, the public Treasury, than ever occurred before?

Well and truly has it been said, by a distinguished citizen, late a supporter of Mr. Van Buren, that

"The soul is sick
"With every day's report of wrong and fraud,
"With which the land is filled."

That General Harrison will restore purity to the Administration, his past life furnishes an ample guarantee. Commencing his public life, as we have said, under the immediate auspices of Washington, he has past through many most important stations: at various times confronting the foes of his country and leading the armies of the nation to victory and triumph: at others, filling the most important civil offices—governing, with admirable wisdom and moderation, as well as integrity, one of the most extended territories of the nation—then representing a sovereign State in the Senate of the United States—and then the nation at a foreign court—he has returned poor and guiltless of all speculation, to his own fireside, and, with the simplicity of a Republican, fills the humble, but useful and highly respectable office of clerk of his county;—so humble and unostentatious in his life, fellow-citizens, that he has been derided by the pimps and parasites of power, be-

cause his habitation was said to be humble, and his drink simple and cheap. They who clothe in fine clothes, and feed on luxuries bought by salaries which the people pay, may well deride thus the Republican who maintains himself in honest simplicity.

Fellow-citizens, we commend General Harrison to you as a republican in principle and practice; and in further proof of our assertion, we submit to you the subjoined letter written by General Harrison seventeen years ago, breathing the spirit of an old fashioned republican, and showing that his opinions are not made for the occasion, but that his sentiments have been uniform and always republican, viz :

To the Editor of the Inquisitor.

CINCINNATI, September 16, 1822.

SIR: In your last paper you recommend to the candidates at the ensuing election, to publish their political creeds, that the electors may have a fair opportunity of choosing those whose sentiments best accord with their own. I have ever believed that every elector has a right to make this call upon those who offer their services to the people; and that the candidates are bound to answer it. I might, it is true, avail myself of the kind of exception which you make in favor of those who have had an opportunity of showing their political opinions by their conduct. But as I have no reason to dread the most minute investigation of my opinions, and that my fellow-citizens may be enabled to compare my actions with my professions, I offer you the following outline of my political creed, which you may publish if you think it worthy of a place in your paper. This measure is the more necessary at this time, as some of my new friends have very kindly, in various handbills and other anonymous publications, undertaken to make one for me, which (if I have a correct knowledge of what I myself believe) is not a very exact likeness of that which I profess. I deem myself a republican of what is commonly called the old Jeffersonian school, and believe in the correctness of that interpretation of the constitution which has been given by the writings of that enlightened statesman, who was at the head of the party and others belonging to it, *particularly the celebrated resolutions of the Virginia Legislature*, during the Presidency of Mr. Adams.

I deny, therefore, to the General Government the exercise of any power but what is expressly given to it by the Constitution, or what is essentially necessary to carry the powers expressly given into effect.

I believe that the charter given to the Bank of the United States was unconstitutional—it being not one of those measures necessary to carry any of the expressly granted powers into effect; and, whilst my votes in Congress will show that I will take any constitutional means to revoke the charter, my votes in the State Legislature will equally show that I am opposed to those which are unconstitutional or violent, and which will bring us in collision with the General Government.

I believe in the tendency of a large public debt to sap the foundations of the Constitution, by creating a moneyed aristocracy, whose views and interests must be in direct hostility to those of the mass of the people.

I deem it the duty, therefore, of the Representative of the people to endeavor to extinguish it as soon as possible, by making every retrenchment in the expenditures of the Government that a proper performance of the public business will allow.

I believe in the right of the people to instruct their Representative when elected; and if he has sufficient evidence that the instructions which may be given him come from a majority of his constituents, that he is bound to obey them, unless he considers that by doing it he would violate the Constitution, in which case I think it would be his duty to resign and give them an opportunity of electing another Representative whose opinion would accord with their own.

I believe that the existence of slavery in our country is the greatest evil that we at present lie under; and I believe it to be the duty of non-slave-holding States to offer to their sister States every inducement, and afford them every facility, to get rid of this curse. But I am equally convinced that, upon constitutional grounds, as well as those of expediency and propriety, all the measures for the accomplishment of the important object of emancipation, must be begun and supported by the States holding the slaves, the Constitution having given no power to interfere in this domestic concern, without the consent of those most interested; and every step which we may take without their concurrence will assuredly rivet the chains which we wish to break.

I believe that upon the preservation of the union of the States depends the existence of our civil and religious liberties; and that the cement which binds it together is not a parcel of words written upon paper or parchment, but the brotherly love and regard which the citizens of the several States possess for each other. Destroy this, and the beautiful fabric which was reared and embellished by our ancestors, crumbles into ruins. From its disjointed parts no temple of liberty will again be reared. Discord and wars will succeed to peace and harmony—barbarism will again overspread the land; or, what is scarcely better, some kindly tyrant will promulgate the de-

crees of his will from the seat where a Washington and a Jefferson dispensed the blessings of a free and equal Government.

I believe it, therefore, to be the duty of a Representative to conciliate, by every possible means, the members of our great political family, and always to bear in mind that, as the Union was effected only by a spirit of mutual concession and forbearance, so only can it be preserved.

WM. H. HARRISON.

General Harrison is furthermore commended to your support and your suffrages, fellow-citizens, by the fact that he is opposed to the present despotic and ruinous financial policy of Mr. Van Buren—we mean the sub-Treasury. Our limits will not permit us to enlarge upon the evils of this measure in detail; but we ask you to look around you, and see the fruits—the dead-sea fruits—the ashes of industry and enterprise, which have sprung from the principles of which this sub-Treasury is the horrid consummation. “*Perish credit, perish commerce*”—“*Those who trade on borrowed capital deserve to break,*” were the savage war-cry, when the leaders of the anti-credit, anti-commerce party of Mr. Van Buren, “let loose the dogs” of party war upon the credit, commerce, and industry of the country. And they have perished. The young, the hardy, and the enterprising—the men whose capital were an honest heart, a clear head, a determined spirit of industry, and the confidence of friends, have been struck down. To be worthy of confidence, was to be vicious—to receive it, was to merit destruction; and men in high places—*Republicans!* cried out “perish!” Fellow-citizens, under that fell edict, who sank, and must sink? The men who, born without fortunes, have to make them, while they only survive who are already rich—and the heir of hereditary wealth becomes the pet of republican equality. A diminished commerce, disbanded laborers, low prices for produce and labor, with a deficient revenue, are the fruits of this system. If the people were in difficulty, they were able to extricate themselves, and would have done so, but the Government and its party have determined they should not, because to enable it to acquire the power it sought, it was necessary first to distract, and then distress and humble the people; and now it madly and relentlessly presses upon them this financial scheme, so injurious and despotic in its nature, that it exists not to the extent proposed here in any other country having the semblance even of a free Government. We regret, fellow-citizens, that we cannot here discuss fully the merits—we should speak more properly, to say the enormities—of this scheme. But this every man can understand, viz: the value of property in the general is what it will sell for; and property can be bought only with money—it may be bartered for something else. If the currency is specie only, it must be diminished from what it now is, one hundred fold at least; and as money becomes scarce, property becomes cheap, for the want of money to purchase it. The price of property falls, therefore, with the reduction of the circulating medium, while every man’s *debt*, who is in debt, remains the same. The man who owns large plantations, with slaves and other stocks upon them, houses, bank stocks, &c., finds his wealth curtailed nominally, only because he has no need to sell. His relative distance from the poor man is greater than it was. But the man who owns property of the value of one or two thousand dollars only, and who owes five hundred or a thousand dollars, finds himself ruined, because his debt remains undiminished, and must be paid dollar for dollar, while his little property is sold for half its value, and bought by his wealthier neighbor. So the man who labors for hire, must hire himself for half the former price, while he who has the means, must get the benefit of it; and thus, at every turn of this republican financial scheme, are the rich, in fact, made richer, and the poor poorer. This measure is bad enough even under this view of it; but we have not yet developed its whole character. A part of this scheme to obtain the unqualified control over the currency, as well as the revenue of the country, not the least obnoxious in principle, and in the end likely to be productive of the most serious, if not fatal evils, is the proposition to give the Government the power to issue “bills of credit,” called Treasury drafts, to such extent as the Government shall find neces-

sary to carry on its operations. These Treasury drafts will be paid out to all persons to whom the Government is indebted, and will bear a premium or fall below par, according to the State of the Treasury. If the specie of the country becomes "banked" in the Treasury, so that the world is assured the drafts upon it may be promptly met, the knowledge of its convertibility will prevent its return immediately, and it will bear a premium, because of the greater facility of remittance which it affords than specie; and thus the Government—the *Treasury*—will become the great bank of deposit and circulation, hoarding the specie, and distributing its paper. What, then, will become of the people and *their* currency? The Government will have the "hard money," and the people the paper. If, on the other hand, the specie be not hoarded, and the Treasury deficient, then all history, and especially our own colonial experience teaches us, that the Treasury paper will fall below par, and in a state of war will become what the old "continental money" was, imposing a certain and heavy loss upon every man who receives it. Are you willing, fellow-citizens, to bring upon the country such a state of things? Will you, in these days of "hard-money" clamor, consent to bestow all the "hard money upon the Government and its officers, while you take the paper—the "rags?" as the hard-money gentlemen call it. And this you will do, if you adopt Mr. Van Buren's financial scheme—a scheme unnecessarily and madly pressed upon you, with no other view, we believe, than to give power to the Government and its party—a scheme for the most extensive, and worst paper currency ever suggested in this country by any other man or party. Fellow-citizens, we ask you to bear in mind by whom, and under what circumstances this scheme is pressed upon you. When Mr. Van Buren came into power, the country was prosperous, the revenue abundant, and the currency comparatively sound—compared we mean with what it had been and is. Destruction to credit was proclaimed in this young and growing country, where credit is life and capital; the "hard-money" cry was raised, the currency with which the *people* were content, was condemned and assailed by the *Government*, and this sub-Treasury scheme proposed. What have been the consequences? Distress and scarcity of money throughout the land—and a consequent decline of prices, and yet an unequal and almost worthless currency—and the authors of this mischief, professing friends of hard-money, call upon you, instead of hard-money, to receive Government paper.

To place yourselves and your property absolutely under the control of the Government, by giving it the command of the currency, while they boast that the Government and its office-holders will be independent of you; they will draw their stipends in hard money, unafflicted by any of the causes which may afflict the people, and indifferent to your suffering. Fellow-citizens, we ask you if this will be Republican Government? Will it not convert your Government into a brazen monster, who will look with indifference, if not with exultation, upon the sufferings of the people, mocking their distress? Where will be that sympathy between the Government and the governed—between the power and the people, which should characterize and is the essence of Republican Government? What ought you to think of professing Democrats who answer their professions by such practices? In the mad pursuit of power, under the the dazzling influence of "hard money," they have utterly forgotten the people and their interests, for every feature of the scheme proposed tends to strengthen the Government, and weaken and oppress the people.

Obnoxious and despotic as this scheme is, yet, fellow-citizens, it was insufficient to answer the purposes of the Government, and did not place the people sufficiently in its power. The State banking institutions might yet hold out longer, and break in some degree, although they could not defeat the force of the scheme, and the new and before-unheard of proposition was made by Mr. Van Buren, that Congress should, by a bankrupt law, enable the Federal Government by its agents

to close the doors of the State banks, and take possession of their funds and effects whenever they should violate that law. Contemplate the spectacle which the execution of that law would present. Your State swarming with Federal harpies, called Commissioners of Bankrupts—your State banks closed and surrendered to them—your bank-note currency destroyed, while the specie is hoarded by the Government, and your people harassed by lawsuits, judgments and executions against their persons and property. Was there ever so sudden a transition from liberty and independence to slavery and misery, and yet the *forms* of free Government prevailing? To the peculiar friends of State rights we might well appeal, and ask how they can sustain one so inimical to the very idea of State rights as he must be, who thus proposed by Federal agents to take possession of and extinguish all the banking institutions of the States which might come within his reach, and claimed to hold a power over them which must make them mere Federal dependants. Who is it that would not commit the lamb to the keeping of the wolf, who would commit State rights and State institutions to the care of such a friend?

Fellow-citizens, let your Government bring you to the condition we have described—and to that condition Mr. Van Buren has sought, and yet seeks, to bring you—and not the form even of free Government will be left you. We caution you to beware the attack made upon your liberty, while the forms of the Republic are preserved. It is the insidious approach of Death, which seizes upon the vitals of the victim while he yet appears to be in health, and stops the current at his heart before he even suspects that he is in danger. The traitor, who strikes openly at the liberty of his country, or the revolutionary fanatic, who seeks to abolish the forms in the act of destroying that liberty, warns the people of his ends, and at once the friends and foes of liberty are arrayed against each other openly—and the danger once seen, the enemy is subdued, if the people are virtuous. But against the foe who works by sapping, it is difficult to guard. Appealing to the forms of the Government, which he fears to assail, as proof that he would not harm the Republic—under professions of regard for the people and devotion to the Constitution, which he designs to overthrow, he proceeds in his work unsuspected, until the whole fabric is undermined, and the power of the people is turned against themselves before they are aware of it. Wretched will be your condition under this system in a time of peace—let war come, and it will be insupportable except by slaves. Money, it is said, is the sinew of war. Place all your cash in the hands of the Government, and let it issue bills of credit, and the army will become at once the object of "*hard-money*" bounty—to supply whose wants, and suppress whose clamors, it will be distributed to them, while the people will be glad even to get "*rag*" money. When Cæsar turned the arms of Rome against the State, and invaded the Capital, his first act was to seize the Treasury—because without men he could not conquer Rome, and without money he could not keep his men.

Fellow-citizens, we invoke you to arrest this ruinous measure, and restore the happy and healthful days of the Republic. This can be done effectually only by rejecting Mr. Van Buren: for it is vain to expect to change the measures of the Government if you retain in office, and clothe with power and patronage, the men who have originated and advocate these measures. A sad experience has demonstrated in relation to this very measure, that the hope is idle, and that the power of the Government is even now too strong for the people. The remedy, and only efficient remedy, is to remove the men who propose such measures. The People exercise their power over the Government by removing from office those who abused the trust reposed in them, and, as all must admit, it is the only corrective which the people can apply to the Executive branch of the Government. A different course puts the Executive above the People, and makes him supreme; and is, in truth, the adoption of the odious "*sink or swim*" maxim, by

which, men professing to be Republicans, swear fealty to a man, and pledge themselves to serve and follow power, take what course it may. The maxim is odious, the practice servile and disgusting, and we are satisfied that it can never be adopted by the People of Virginia.

Apart from its servility, its want of all independence and dignity, it in truth commends to the people, in a spirit of manworship, or in the fear of power, to surrender their only control over their own agent and become the dupes of his will, instead of making him, as he should be, the instrument of their will. Let not those who oppose Mr. Van Buren's measures, and who will not meanly swear to sink or swim by him, delude themselves with the idea that they punish him by refusing to vote for him, although they will not vote for his adversary. If right for them to pursue such a course, so it would be for all other opponents of Mr. Van Buren's measures, and if all his opponents became neutrals, none but his supporters would be left to vote, and they would of course elect him. It is, in our humble judgments, therefore, the duty of every man to go to the polls and efficiently rebuke bad measures by rejecting the authors of them.

We are aware, fellow-citizens, that numerous attempts have been made, are now being made, and will be repeated, some of them by men who know they are *perpetrating* injustice, and in reality endeavoring to practise a fraud by misrepresentation, for the purpose of injuring General Harrison in your estimation. We propose briefly to examine some of the most prominent of these topics of detraction, and we ask your patience and attention. We ask this not for ourselves merely, and not for General Harrison—we ask it for your sakes, and for the sake of our common country: for whether mistaken or not, we are solemnly convinced, that upon the removal from office of Mr. Van Buren and the men immediately around him, depends, essentially, if not, in the end, absolutely, the preservation of our free institutions, and our once equal and Republican Government.

It is objected to General Harrison, by venerable demagogues, as well as by their younger and more innocent dupes, that he is not an orthodox politician in his interpretation of the Federal Constitution; and the reveille is sung to the party who support the President, to the old chorus of Anti-Bank, Anti-Tariff, Anti-Internal Improvement. Most of those who raise this cry know that the questions suggested by these cabalistic terms, are not now before the American people, and if they were, that Mr. Van Buren is obnoxious to the strongest objections to which they can give rise; yet, with an effrontery nowhere else to be met with, they first insist that these are the true issues, and swear that all who will not support Mr. Van Buren are in favor of the bank, tariff, and internal improvements, and therefore Federalists—while Mr. Van Buren, who favors them all, is a most immaculate Republican!!! How stands Mr. Van Buren upon the tariff, internal improvement, and the bank?

I. As to the Tariff.—Mr. Van Buren voted for the most extravagant and oppressive tariff ever passed, and justified his support of it by reference to the number of sheep he owned; and since he left the Senate, in his letter to a committee of gentlemen at the Shocco Springs, he expressly admits the constitutional power of Congress to pass high tariff laws for the protection of manufactures.

II. As to Internal Improvement.—Mr. Van Buren voted for the strongest measure upon that subject ever passed by Congress, in the construction of the famous Cumberland Road, and the erection of toll-gates upon it; and, as President, he has never vetoed any bill for internal improvement. He has made, it is true, an excuse for his votes on this subject, that, although a Senator, sworn to support the Constitution, he had not examined it when he violated it. To those who may regard this as proof of his fitness for the Presidency, we have nothing to offer.

III. As to the Bank, or a Bank.—Mr. Van Buren swore “uncompromising hostility to the bank” after it was dead under General Jackson's blows, and he piously repeats the oath at least once a year, lest perhaps he should forget he swore it.

But look to his practices. He is the author and founder of that financial scheme, which is in itself a Government bank, and must in the end plainly assume that shape. He professes to concur in all things with General Jackson, who distinctly said, that Congress had power to incorporate a bank; and even in Virginia—in this anti-bank atmosphere of our own—the most distinguished supporters of Mr. Van Buren are avowed bank men, and the party which supports him, supports them. You have seen the whole Administration party, in the Legislature of Virginia, with two exceptions, unite upon and support Mr. McDowell as Governor, with the knowledge that, in the year 1834, in the month of January, Mr. McDowell said, in a speech in the House of Delegates of Virginia, that, while he was opposed to *the* Bank of the United States, he admitted the power of Congress to establish *a* bank, upon the ground that it was “necessary and proper,” as the “fiscal agent” of the Government, “in the execution of its duties.” In other words, Mr. McDowell is the open advocate of a Government bank founded upon the revenue of the country; and when once established, however begun, it requires no extraordinary optics to foresee that it will be clothed with all the attributes of a bank, having in the beginning some of the most important, and that all other banks must sink before it.

It is but fair to say, therefore, that those who supported Mr. McDowell, approve his opinions as to *a* bank; as, to say otherwise, would be to affirm, that this great test was no test with the Administration party, and the profession of hostility to other men for favoring *the* bank was not sincere, or gentlemen were careless of the opinions of those they support, upon high constitutional questions.

Another distinguished member of Mr. Van Buren’s party in Virginia, filling now the important and responsible office of President of the Court of Appeals, and lately held up as a candidate of *the* party which is opposed to *the* bank, for the office of Senator of the United States; a gentleman by his talents and accomplishments justly entitled to be, as he was, if he is not now, one of the leaders of his party, has, in a letter written in January, 1839, but just published, avowed his adherence to his old opinions in favor of the constitutional power of Congress to make internal improvements and create a bank, and that “with the great body of the *Republican party* he voted for *the* bank,” believing it to be “necessary and proper”—“within the meaning of the Constitution.” Yet this distinguished gentleman remains still an honored supporter of Mr. Van Buren, and a member of *the* Republican party; like Mr. McDowell, a “most worthy and approved” member: yet these gentlemen, between them, maintain the bank power, in all the phases of *a* bank and *the* bank, and thus doubly surrender the constitution, according to the party creed; but all who do not concur with them in the support of Mr. Van Buren, are doomed and destroying Federalists, and the great tests of federalism, are the bank and internal improvement!!! We think you will say with us, fellow-citizens, that there is inconsistency or want of sincerity in these professions of the professed Anti-bank party, and their practice of supporting bank men—an inconsistency from which they will find it as difficult to extricate themselves as they will to extricate the learned judge from his dilemma who thinks the bank constitutional because it is both “necessary and proper,” “within the meaning of the constitution,” and yet thinks “that the creation of another bank would be inexpedient and pernicious;” to make which true, a bank may be “necessary and proper” and “inexpedient and pernicious” at the same time.

But if opinions upon the tariff, internal improvements, and *the* bank or *a* bank, be the true tests of republicanism, then how stands General Harrison in comparison with Mr. Van Buren? We answer, that upon the tariff and internal improvements he cannot be worse than Mr. Van Buren, as we have shown you; and as to the bank, his unqualified declaration that it was unconstitutional is before you; and there is no reason to believe that he is in favor of a bank in any form, for he is assuredly opposed to a Government bank. As far as we know or believe, fel-

low-citizens, General Harrison has but one opinion about the bank, and that is against it, and we feel that we hazard nothing in saying that he would not consider any bank constitutional which, in his opinion would, if established, be both "inexpedient and pernicious."

With these evidences of the profession and practices of the leaders of Mr. Van Buren's party before you, we ask you, fellow-citizens, if you can regard them as sincere when they raise the cry of bank and anti-bank, and that they really believe that there is all the mischief in a bank which they profess; and that bank and anti-bank are the true issues before you? We are satisfied that you will say with us that this is mere party management or trickery, not to be relied on. But then the question immediately presents itself, if sound issues could be made, why are false one preferred? If General Harrison could be assailed truly, and Mr. Van Buren defended, why are simulation and detraction resorted to? There can be but one answer: falsehood only serves when the truth fails. To prove these charges false, however, effects nothing; for if all other arts fail, and every other slander is repelled—if General Harrison cannot be proven to be either a bank man or a Federalist, then he is an abolitionist, say his enemies—the Northern men with Southern principles, and the Southern men with Northern principles—of whom we fear the latter is the most numerous class. This is the subject upon which the South is most sensitive, and most likely to be misled; and if all the other traps fail, in this one the good-tempered gulls will surely be caught. Fellow-citizens, this charge is of the gravest and most momentous character; and, without hesitation, we say, if General Harrison is an abolitionist, not only cast him out, but stone him; but see that you take not another abolitionist in his place. Before you decide, however, come with us, we pray you, and calmly and candidly consider the evidence upon which the charge rests, and the characters, touching this subject, of the witnesses against General Harrison.

Are they men "above fear, and without reproach," who come with "clean feet" and a clear conscience, to testify—Southern men with Southern feelings, not Southern men with Northern feelings, really desirous to suppress abolition, and candidly looking to that as the end? Are they trading politicians, with whom hostility to abolition is a *means* only of attaining other ends? Or are they abolitionists in disguise, who have betrayed their own opinions, and sunk their consciences, to serve power and its party, and fight only for the spoil of the vanquished, which belongs to the victor? If such be the witnesses, fellow-citizens, we know that you are too generous, too just, to condemn any man upon their testimony. But we fear not to meet the accusation, and place General Harrison upon his trial, let who will be the witnesses—even though they be men who, standing in the midst of the South, have declared that the success of the favorite policy of Mr. Van Buren is of more importance than all other questions, abolition included, or that slavery "*is the greatest evil that can scourge our land*;" that it must be removed, and "*it is the part of no honest man to deny it.*" Nevertheless, fellow-citizens, while we say, that if General Harrison can be convicted, even by such testimony, of being an abolitionist, "cast him out," yet we respectfully admonish you, when he may be cast out, not to throw yourselves into the arms of such men as we have described, and commit the interests of those opposed to abolition to the keeping of men who have shown a willingness to betray even their own opinions, to obtain power or serve a party, and who have proven they would be abolitionists if abolition were popular. We say, confidently, however, that General Harrison is *no abolitionist*; and, without fear, we proceed to examine the evidence upon that point.

The evidence relied upon by the opponents of General Harrison, consists of a portion of the letter quoted already in this address, and another public declaration which will be found annexed to it. By these declarations, General Harrison has said that he regards slavery as an evil, and would be glad to see the country re-

lieved of it, "with the consent of the slaveholding States;" "and that he is convinced, upon constitutional grounds, as well as those of expediency and propriety, that all the measures for the accomplishment of the object must be begun and be supported by the States holding slaves—the constitution having given no power to interfere with this domestic concern without the consent of those most interested." The propositions contained in this declaration are—

I. That General Harrison is not the advocate of slavery.

II. That he is "convinced" that all measures to remove it, must originate with, and be supported by, the slaveholders.

III. That Congress has no constitutional power to take any measures upon the subject, except upon the request, and therefore with the concurrence of the slaveholding States.

Take this declaration by itself, fellow-citizens, without the aid of an explanatory remark even, and we ask you if you think there is a candid man in America who would say that the sentiments above quoted are those of an abolitionist? An abolitionist deny that Congress has any power except such as the slaveholding States confer, if they choose to confer any, and that no measures for abolition can be taken but at their request and with their concurrence? Grant these propositions, and is not all talk, even of abolition, at an end, unless the *slaveholding States*, or their representatives, indulge in it? Will slavery, or can it, be abolished under General Harrison's views, unless the slaveholding States ask that it shall be? And if *they* seek the abolition of slavery, would you have the *President of the United States* declare it should not be? Would that not be absolute despotism? Is there a man residing in any non-slaveholding State, whose sentiments are known, who concedes more to the slaveholding States than General Harrison? Does Mr. Van Buren? Do the supporters of Mr. Van Buren *even in Virginia*? We answer no, and we will prove the answer true. But it is said that General Harrison has declared, as he has, his willingness to see the *surplus revenue of the States appropriated, with the consent of the slaveholding States*, to the removal of the slaves, and this makes him an abolitionist! Here is the horrible treason against the constitution. If he be a traitor to either, strike him down. Let neither his long services, the many perils he has encountered with your foes, nor even his gray hairs, preserve him; but strike boldly—strike for the South and the Constitution—and do not, we pray you, fail in your duty, because the task is difficult, and excuse your recreancy, as some of the assailants of General Harrison now excuse theirs upon a former occasion, by saying you were "frightened from your propriety." Let us examine the declaration of General Harrison—The surplus revenue may be applied to the removal of the slaves, with the consent of the slaveholding States. We would remark, in the first place, that in this declaration you have an explanation of the kind of "measures" contemplated by General Harrison in his first declaration above quoted. What is the "measure" proposed? To appropriate the surplus revenue, *with the consent of the slaveholding States*, to the removal of the slaves. We do not concur in this suggestion; but we beg you to consider the position of those who clamor most against it, in reference to every proposition contained in it; and before you condemn General Harrison under this clamor for the benefit of Mr. Van Buren, ascertain whether Mr. Van Buren, and even his Virginia friends, for the most part, have not committed themselves to all that General Harrison suggested. General Harrison's "measure," if a suggestion may be so called, involves two propositions: first, the distribution of the surplus revenue; and, secondly, that, in distributing it, it may be applied, with the consent of the slaveholding States, to the removal of slavery. As to the first proposition, we suppose there will be no disagreement; the right to distribute the surplus revenue is admitted by all—from General Jackson down to those who follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor; *and the revenue has been distributed. General Jackson approved and signed the bill for its distribution.*

To carry out the other proposition, it would be necessary that the slaveholding States should first *ask* that the share distributed to each one of them should be applied to the removal of slavery, by the purchase and removal of the slaves; and if they choose so to apply their share of the revenue, who will deny their right to do it? If the slaveholding States did not confine their action to their own share of the surplus revenue, then the only other mode by which they could act would be for them to ask the non-slaveholding States to apply their share of the surplus revenue to the removal of slavery. Does any one believe that the non-slaveholding States would do it? but if they were asked by the slaveholding States to do it, and were to do it, would the slaveholding States have any right to complain? Who among them, under such circumstances, would complain, because, in getting rid of their slaves, they receive payment for them out of the money of others generously thus applied? Surely they would not, or should not complain, who advocated the abolition of slavery in Virginia without compensation, or upon condition that the slaveholders should pay themselves for their slaves, and tax the non-slaveholders to aid them. The complaint against General Harrison, it is manifest, should come from the non-slaveholding and not the slaveholding States—as the non-slaveholding States, by the terms of the proposition, could move in the matter only at the request of the slaveholding States, and then might be required to pay the costs of the movement. As we have said, we do not concur in the suggestion; but to show you that the opinion is not peculiar to General Harrison, does not involve a clear or palpable breach of the Constitution, if any, and, at least, is not to be taken as evidence that he who holds it is a Federalist, we beg leave to refer you to the annexed letter from Mr. Jefferson to Jared Sparks, to be found in the 4th volume of Mr. Jefferson's correspondence, from page 388 to 391, as proof that he entertained a very similar opinion—one, indeed, involving the whole constitutional ground said to be covered by General Harrison's opinion, and of which the following is an extract:

“And from what fund are these expenses to be furnished? Why not from that of the lands which have been ceded by the very States now needing this relief? And ceded on no consideration, for the most part, but that of the general good of the whole. These cessions already constitute one-fourth of the States of the Union. It may be said that these lands have been sold—are now the property of the citizens composing those States—and the money long ago received and expended. But an equivalent of lands in the territories since acquired, may be appropriated to that object, or so much, at least, as may be sufficient; and the object, although more important to the slave States, is highly so to the others also, if they were serious in their arguments on the Missouri question. The slave States, too, if more interested, would also contribute more by their gratuitous liberation; thus taking on themselves alone the first and heaviest item of expense.

“I am aware that this subject involves some constitutional scruples. But a liberal construction, justified by the object, may go far, and an amendment of the constitution the whole length necessary. The separation of infants from their mothers, too, would produce some scruples of humanity. But this would be straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.”

Which of the modern and self-created Democrats will dare to call Thomas Jefferson a Federalist?

Fellow-citizens, we invite you to compare Mr. Van Buren and General Harrison, and their supporters, and we are satisfied you will decide that if either be liable to the charge of being abolitionists, it is not either General Harrison or his friends.

General Harrison is a citizen of Ohio—a non-slave-holding State; but he is a Virginian, the son of a revolutionary patriot of Virginia, who, by signing the Declaration of Independence, pledged his life, his honor, and his fortune, to accomplish our freedom. And Ohio, peopled largely from Virginia, has declared her opposition to any interference with the right of the slave holder; and General Harrison declares that Congress and the non-slave-holding States have no power over slavery under the Constitution, and ought not to exercise it if they had.

Mr. Van Buren is a citizen and a native of New York—a non-slave-holding State also—from the North. He denies, it is true, the power of Congress to abol-

ish slavery in the States, but he admits the power to abolish it in the Territories and in the District of Columbia, (see his letter, dated March 6, 1836, to J. B. Mallory, of Brunswick.) He was one of the promoters and agitators of the *Missouri restriction*, and in the Legislature of New York voted for the following resolution of instruction to Rufus King: "*Resolved*, That our Senators be instructed, and our Representatives in Congress requested, to oppose the admission as a State into the Union, of any Territory not comprised as aforesaid, [that is, in the old States,] without making the prohibition of slavery therein an indispensable condition of admission;" and in the Convention of New York, he voted to place the free negro upon a footing with the white man at the polls; and the Legislature of New York have but just now declared, by an overwhelming majority of both branches of the Legislature, that Congress is bound to receive petitions for the abolition of slavery, and that New York is opposed to the resolution recently adopted by the House of Representatives declaring it will not receive them.

What thought Mr. Jefferson of the Missouri restrictionists? Hear his denunciation of them and their restriction, in his own language. In a letter to General Lafayette, to be found in the 4th volume of his memoirs, page 384, Mr. Jefferson says: "On the eclipse of *Federalism* with us, although not its extinction, its leaders got up the Missouri question, under the false front of lessening the measure of slavery, but with a real view of producing a geographical division of parties, which might insure them the next PRESIDENT." And in another letter he says, "Of the Missouri question,"—"This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union." One of these "*Federal leaders*," thus denounced by Mr. Jefferson as sounding the "fire bell in the night;" this "knell of the Union," for unholy and ambitious purposes, was *Martin Van Buren*. His opponent, upon that question, the friend of the South and the Union, was William Henry Harrison.

General Harrison, on the other hand, opposed and voted against the *Missouri restriction*; and, voting against it, he denied the power of Congress then, as he does now, to impose it, and never has thought the free negro equal to the white man. Fellow-citizens, we ask you in candor to say, if either of these men be your enemy upon the question of slavery, is it General Harrison? If either be dangerous to you, is it General Harrison? We might here drop the comparison, and commit the subject to the judgment of an intelligent and impartial people; but there is other testimony, and we consider it a duty, not less to the country than to General Harrison, to submit it to your consideration. In a public address, delivered at Vincennes, in the State of Indiana, in the year 1835, General Harrison freely declared his sentiments in respect to abolition and the abolitionists; and we give them to you in his own words, viz:

"I have now, fellow-citizens, a few more words to say on another subject, and which is, in my opinion, of more importance than any other that is now in the course of discussion in any part of the Union. I allude to the societies which have been formed, and the movements of certain individuals in some of the States in relation to a portion of the population in others. The conduct of these persons is the more dangerous, because their object is masked under the garb of disinterestedness and benevolence, and their course vindicated by arguments and propositions which, in the abstract, no one can deny. But, however fascinating may be the dress with which their schemes are presented to their fellow-citizens, with what purity of intention they may have been formed and sustained, they will be found to carry in their train mischief to the whole Union, and horrors to a large portion of it, which it is probable some of the projectors and many of their supporters have never thought of—the latter, the first in the series of evils that are to spring from their source, are such as you have read of, to have been perpetrated on the fair plains of Italy and Gaul, by the Scythian hordes of Attila and Alaric; and such as most of you apprehended upon that memorable night when the tomahawk and war-clubs of the followers of Tecumseh were rattling in your suburbs. I regard not the disavowals of any such intention upon the part of the authors of these schemes, since, upon the examination of the publications which have been made, they will be found to contain the very fact, and very argument which would have been used, if such would have been their object. I am certain that there is not in this assembly one of these deluded men, and that there are few within the bounds of the State. If there

are any, I would earnestly entreat them to forbear, to pause in their career, and deliberately consider the consequence of their conduct to the whole Union, and to those for whose benefit they profess to act. That the latter will be the victims of the weak, injudicious, presumptuous, and unconstitutional efforts to serve them, a thorough examination of the subject must convince them. The struggle (and struggle there must be) may commence with horrors such as I have described, but it will end with more firmly riveting the chains, or in the utter extirpation of those whose cause they advocate.

"Am I wrong, fellow-citizens, in applying the terms weak, presumptuous, and unconstitutional, to the measures of the emancipators? A slight examination will, I think, show that I am not. In the vindication of the objects of a convention, which was lately held in one of the towns in Ohio, which I saw in a newspaper, it was said that nothing more was intended than to produce a state of public feeling which would lead to an amendment of the Constitution, authorizing the abolition of slavery in the United States. Now, can an amendment of the Constitution be effected without the consent of the Southern States? What, then, is the proposition to be submitted to them? It is this: 'The present provisions of the Constitution secure to you the right (a right which you held before it was made, which you have never given up) to manage your domestic concerns in your own way, but as we are convinced that you do not manage them properly, we want you to put in the hands of the General Government, in the councils of which we have the majority, the control over these matters, the effect of which will be virtually to transfer the power from yours into our hands.'

"Again, in some of the States, and in sections of others, the black population far exceeds that of the white. Some of the emancipators propose an immediate abolition. What is the proposition, then, as it regards these States and parts of States, but the alternatives of amalgamation with the blacks, or an exchange of situations with them? Is there any man of common sense who does not believe that the emancipated blacks, being a majority, will not insist upon a full participation of political rights with the whites; and, when possessed of these, they will not contend for a full share of social rights also? What but the extremity of weakness and folly, could induce any one to think that such propositions as those could be listened to by a people so intelligent as the Southern States? Further: The emancipators generally declare, that it is their intention to effect their object (although their acts contradict the assertion) by no other means than by convincing the slaveholders that the immediate emancipation of the slaves is called for both by moral obligation and sound policy.

"An unfledged youth, at the moment of his leaving (indeed in many instances before he has left it) his Theological Seminary, undertakes to give lectures upon morals to the countrymen of Wythe, Tucker, Pendleton, and Lowndes, and lessons of political wisdom to States whose affairs have so recently been directed by Jefferson and Madison, Macon and Crawford. Is it possible that instances of greater vanity and presumption could be exhibited? But the course pursued by the emancipators is unconstitutional. I do not say that there are any words in the Constitution, which forbid the discussions they are engaged in—I know that there are not. And there is even an article which secures to the citizens the right to express and publish their opinions without restriction. But in the construction of the Constitution it is always necessary to refer to the circumstances under which it was framed, and to ascertain its meaning by a comparison of its provisions with each other, and with the previous situation of the several States who were parties to it. In a portion of these slavery was recognised, and they took care to have the right secured to them, to follow and reclaim such of them as were fugitives to other States. The laws of Congress, passed under this power, have provided punishment to any who shall oppose or interrupt the exercise of this right. Nor can any one believe, that the instrument which contains a provision of this kind, which authorizes a master to pursue his slave into another State, take him back, and provides a punishment for any citizen or citizens of that State who should oppose him, should at the same time authorize the latter to assemble together, to pass resolutions and to adopt addresses, not only to encourage the slaves to leave their masters, but to cut their throats before they do so?

"I insist, that if the citizens of the non-slaveholding States can avail themselves of the article of the Constitution which prohibits the restriction of speech, or the press to publish any thing injurious to the rights of the slaveholding States, that they can go to the extreme that I have mentioned, and effect any thing further which writing or speaking could effect. But, fellow-citizens, those are not the principles of the Constitution. Such a construction would defeat one of the great objects of its formation, which was that of securing the peace and harmony of the States which were parties to it.

"The liberty of speech and of the press were given as the most effectual means to preserve to each and every citizen their own rights, and to the States the rights which appertained to them at the time of their adoption. It could never have been expected that it would be used by the citizens of one portion of the States, for the purpose of depriving those of another portion of the rights which they had reserved at the adoption of the Constitution, and in the exercise of which none but themselves have any concern or interest. If slavery is an evil, the evil is with them; if there is guilt in it, the guilt is theirs, not ours; since neither the States where it does

not exist, nor the Government of the United States can, without usurpation of power, and the violation of a solemn compact, do any thing to remove it without the consent of those who are immediately interested.

"But they will neither ask for aid, nor consent to be aided, whilst the illegal, persecuting, and dangerous movements are in progress, of which I complain—the interest of all concerned requires that these should be stopped immediately. This can only be done by the force of public opinion, and that cannot too soon be brought into operation. Every movement which is made by the abolitionists in the non-slaveholding States, is viewed by our Southern brethren as an attack upon their rights, and which, if persisted in, must in the end eradicate those feelings of attachment and affection between the citizens of all the States, which was produced by a community of interests and dangers in the war of the Revolution, which was the foundation of our happy union, and by a continuance of which it can alone be preserved. I entreat you, then, to frown upon measures which are to produce results so much to be deprecated. The opinion which I have now given, I have omitted no opportunity for the last two years to lay before the people of my own State. I have taken the liberty to express them here, knowing that even if they should unfortunately not accord with yours, they would be kindly received."

Entertaining, and boldly and freely proclaiming such sentiments as these, General Harrison is yet denounced by the partisans of Mr. Van Buren, as an abolitionist; and men, professing to be candid and sincere, urge you to support Mr. Van Buren and oppose General Harrison upon that ground. Yes, strange to relate, men who pronounced slavery "a dark cloud" and "a curse," and who claimed the right to remove it, even without compensation, now shamelessly denounce General Harrison as an abolitionist, while they support Mr. Van Buren. When did Mr. Van Buren ever utter sentiments so congenial to the feelings of the South, and inimical to the abolitionist, as those just quoted from General Harrison? We answer, never—and defy the proof. If he has never uttered them yet, who has professed every sentiment which could serve his ambition, do you think he will do it after he is re-elected, with the Legislature of his own State condemning such opinions?

We might here dismiss this charge against General Harrison as utterly unfounded and false, and confidently expect your judgment in his favor; and we should do so, if the subject were one of ordinary interest; but we know that it is not—that it is one of more than ordinary interest, and the ear of the whole South is erect when it is touched. The traducers of General Harrison know this too, and therefore they have seized upon it to arouse your sensibilities and your indignation, in the hope, by their influence, to mislead your judgment. We beg you, therefore, to bear with us for but a short time, while we show you, *from the record*, who and what they are who assail General Harrison as an abolitionist, and how far their charges should be regarded, and their testimony entitled to weight.

The leader in Virginia in this work of detraction and abuse, is the Richmond Enquirer; and, like most others of the presses and politicians which support Mr. Van Buren, it is not content to misrepresent and abuse General Harrison, but it recklessly seeks to involve in the charge of "abolition" all who favor his election. This journal has occupied a prominent position in Virginia for many years, and its statements and assertions circulate extensively among her people, and all acknowledge the influence which the public press exercises in a reading community; and this press, reflecting, as it did, the opinions of the true Republican party of Virginia, while it was headed by Jefferson, Madison, Spencer Roane, and others, has been received by the people of Virginia as the Republican organ, and its statements confided in by a large portion of the people. Therefore, although we feel little respect for the political opinions of that journal, as we cannot entertain much respect for the opinions of any journal which, for several years, has shown itself ready to sink principle that it may swim with power, we will yet be excused for adverting to its course and opinions. Our respect for you, fellow-citizens, leads us to this, because we know that many of you obtain your political information through that journal; and it is due to you, therefore, when we seek to guard you against its statements, that we should give you our reasons for so doing. You all know, too, that not the least important facility in arriving at truth or detecting

error, is a correct knowledge of the character of the witnesses upon whose testimony the decision is to be made. By turning to the files of the Enquirer for the months of January and February of the year 1832, you will find that that paper was the open and almost frantic advocate of the abolition of slavery in Virginia—so much so, that in various parts of the State, and especially on the south side of James river, in Mecklenburg and other counties, it was denounced in public assemblies of the people; and on the 7th of January of that year, in its phrensy it exclaimed, “Are we forever to suffer the greatest evil which can scourge our land, not only to remain, but to increase in its dimensions?” Yet the Richmond Enquirer now leads the host which denounces and reviles General Harrison as an abolitionist, and, therefore, enemy of the South! Upon the authority of this press, you are required to brand and cast out a venerable patriot, who has spent a long life in the service of his country, amidst dangers and difficulties of all kinds, while the doughty paragraphists were secured in a garret, concocting political squibs, or raving about “clouds” and “curses,” and praying for abolition! And, strange to tell, men who profess to oppose General Harrison because he is an abolitionist, believe in the Enquirer, and fight under its lead, for the Northern man against the Southern. During the same winter, (1832,) Mr. McDowell appeared upon the public stage as a distinguished advocate of abolition, differing with the Enquirer in this only—that he denied the right of the slave owner to any compensation for his property, while the Enquirer was willing that he should pay himself, and tax the non-slaveholder to help him. Mr. McDowell proclaimed that “there is no sacredness in this property” which forbids the Government to abolish it, and claimed for the Government a right over the property superior to that of the owner, and made an elaborate speech in support of his opinions; and during the present winter, the supporters of Mr. Van Buren in the General Assembly, with the exception of the two gentlemen from Mecklenburg, have supported Mr. McDowell, and co-operated with the Enquirer in the effort to make him Governor of Virginia.

Fellow-citizens, with the evidence of these things before you, do you believe that the opposition to General Harrison, and support of Mr. Van Buren, is founded in a real hostility to abolition, or belief that General Harrison is, and Mr. Van Buren is not, an abolitionist? We know that it will be said that the Van Buren abolitionists are abolitionists by State means, and not by Congress, and that there is much difference between the two. Grant it; because Congress has less power even than the State, if there can be less than none, to abolish slavery; but if the horrors of abolition are to come upon us, what matters it to us whether they are brought on by State or Federal means? If they are to come in any way, however, is not General Harrison's suggestion less violent and more liberal than that of the Enquirer or Mr. McDowell? For while each requires the assent of the State in the first instance, and the Enquirer and Mr. McDowell deny compensation to the owner, General Harrison, in his suggestion, proposed that after the assent of the State was obtained, the owners of the slaves should be paid out of the surplus revenue of the United States, if the slaveholding States desired it. We are aware that while General Harrison is so fiercely pursued and recklessly misrepresented upon this subject, his pursuers seek to avoid the responsibility of their own opinions by pretending that they were led away by the horrors and excitement of the scenes of Southampton. The excuse sinks the act beneath contempt. The coward who, in the moment of battle, deserts his post, may always say that he was carried away by horrors and excitement; that, in the excitement of the moment, he ran, but is a hero nevertheless!

In conclusion, fellow-citizens, we beg you to remark that the men such as we have described, support the Northern man, who is surrounded by abolitionists, and, for his benefit, denounce and traduce the Southern and Western man—a Virginian—distinguished both in peace and war, and the son of one of that immortal band who pledged and perilled every thing to make Virginia free.

We have already protracted this address, fellow-citizens, further than we intended; but we hope to find our justification with you in the magnitude of the interest at stake, and the importance of the topics to be discussed.

Full justice to ourselves, to you, or to the cause, would require us to spread it over a much larger space. A volume would not suffice to lay before you fully the false professions and broken promises of Mr. Van Buren and his ministers; their wasteful prodigality of the public money, and their false and deceptive reports to Congress, and other measures to conceal it. The blunders which have brought the Treasury to bankruptcy, and the revenue to almost a trifle; and the disregard of the public interests and the dictates of morality, by retaining in offices, for party purposes, in numerous instances, convicted defaulters and spoliators of the public Treasury. We cannot close this address, however, fellow-citizens, without adverting again to a topic, in our humble judgment, of the highest importance, and demanding the gravest consideration of the people. We allude to the fact proverbial through the land, that Mr. Van Buren is the President, not of the nation, but of a party; and that in the temper of the partisan, he has sunk the impartiality, dignity, and patriotism, of the American President—of that system of party drill which now disgraces the land, and requires slavery instead of service; and of which the baneful effects are seen in every Department, Mr. Van Buren is the author—habituated to, if not the author of, that system in New York, managed by a regency, in which various smaller parties throughout the State, acting like concentric circles, form one grand circle, which covers the whole, and make all depend upon the centre, he has long since made politics a mere trade in New York. Virginia was happily exempt from the horrid influence, and political opinions, the dictates of truth, reflection, and experience, and not the mere suggestions of party leaders, were freely formed, and freely and openly expressed—and men were tried by their principles, until Mr. Van Buren became a candidate for the Presidency, and unfortunately came to Virginia. Since that period, the party cords have been drawn closer and tighter, until now, to our shame be it said, the politicians who support Mr. Van Buren openly declare that the test of fitness for the public service is devotion to Mr. Van Buren—devotion to the President. Yes, fellow-citizens, men who prate of the people and republicanism—who profess to love you, and to be free and independent, when called upon to elect men to serve and represent *you*, require not that they shall be “honest, capable, and faithful to the constitution” and the people; but they shall “sink or swim” with the President. Can any thing be more disgusting, more disgraceful to freemen, more absolutely subversive of a Republican Government? A striking example of the vice of this practice has been recently exhibited, and we call your attention emphatically to it. The Senate of the United States is the branch of Congress in which alone the State, as such, is represented: in that body Virginia is entitled to two Senators—she has but one—it was the duty of the General Assembly, at its present session, to elect another, and yet you have seen an election defeated, and Virginia left only half represented in the State branch of the Government, because men would not swear fealty to Mr. Van Buren. No man could be elected, however true to Virginia, however able, and devoted to the constitution, and to your rights and interests. These qualifications were nothing, unless he would pledge himself to “sink or swim” with Mr. Van Buren. Yes, fellow-citizens, unless he would promise to forget Virginia, the constitution, and his oath, when the President required it, he was unworthy to represent Virginia. People of Virginia, we appeal to you to say whether you will approve and sustain such doctrine and practice as this. In the name of our common interests, by our mutual love of liberty, and regard to our Republican Government, we appeal to you to restore Virginia to her ancient independence.

Another and not less striking and painful instance of the subservience of party to the supposed interests of the President, and of the unscrupulous and relentless fury with which it overturns and destroys even the most sacred rights, and with

unholy hands violates the Constitution, has occurred in Congress in the expulsion of the State of New Jersey from the grand council of the nation—a sovereign State, entitled to equal representation, and equal right in all other respects with her sister States, has exercised her constitutional privilege and performed her duty, by electing persons to represent her in Congress. She chose such men as *she* preferred, and according to the appointed forms of the law, under her own great seal she commissioned them to express her will. But the men whom she chose to represent *her* and express *her* will, did not suit the *President* and *his party* in Congress, and in shameful disregard of every principle of duty, and of the commands of the Constitution and the rights of the State, five out of the six chosen, were expelled without a trial, and the State disfranchised, by an unprincipled party majority, barely sufficient to effect the sacrilegious purpose. At the command of the power party, the rights of a sovereign State were abrogated, and she was expelled from Congress with contumely and contempt, and the mock-heroic, “chivalric,” and boasting defenders of State rights, were among the most zealous and noisy in thus testifying their servility to power and practical disregard of State rights—men who were willing “to go the death” for sugar, had not a *word* to utter in defence of the rights of a sovereign State.

This is the fate of the gallant little State of New Jersey at present. Let power grow, and with its growth become more insolent, as it will, and our ancient and beloved State may be the next to be thus dragged down at the feet of a party tyrant, if she shall send representatives to Congress to serve *HER* and *NOT* the President.

Strike off these manacles of a cold-blooded party despot, and restore your sons to freedom. Expel from the Capitol the man who would subjugate them and you.

We shall be charged, we know, with being the partisans of General Harrison, because we urge you to elect him and not Mr. Van Buren. Solemnly we declare that we are not; as freemen we will exercise the privileges of freemen to expel corrupt and incompetent rulers. This can be done only by putting others in their places more honest and patriotic, and such we will support with zeal; but we are not the partisans of any man, and regard men only as the necessary instruments in the hands of the People to carry out their principles.

Principles without men are useless, and good principles in the hands of bad men are worse than a “sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.” They are the songs of the siren, which but serve to delude, and, like the cooling breezes of the vampire’s wing, they lull to repose the victim for death. Your principles cannot be sustained, therefore, fellow-citizens, without men—and they must be good men. In the name of our common country then, and for the sake of that country, we rally around Harrison and Tyler. We invite you to join us, to aid us, and by our united strength to rescue the country and its institutions from ruin and destruction, and before the world we pledge ourselves, that if our trust is betrayed and Harrison proves recreant, we will rally again around the temple of Liberty, and again expel the traitor from its sacred halls.

Of Mr. Tyler we have said little, because it was not necessary to say much as to him. John Tyler is known to the People of Virginia as one of their best tried and most faithful servants. Party malignity, in its most reckless mood, has not charged him yet with being an abolitionist. But, in the plenitude of their power, the partisans of the President, who make and unmake Republicans by royal touch, have pronounced him a Federalist because he is a *WING*. Against that charge we will not vindicate one whom you have so often pronounced to be a Republican. If the man who has always been the advocate of Republican measures, and during nearly his whole life the Representative of Republican People, needs vindication from the charge of Federalism, we feel satisfied that it will be made triumphantly by the Republicans of Virginia, whom he has so long and so faithfully served, and to their protection we commit him, confident that in their hands he will sustain no wrong, and that they will say to him, “well done good and faithful servant.”



APPENDIX.

It was the intention of the committee to prepare an appendix to the address, for the purpose of explaining, and, by documentary evidence, refuting, many of the falsehoods which are propagated by the ministerial presses against General Harrison, as well to place him upon other points, in his true position before the people; to show not only the distinguished military services which he has rendered to the country, but his high qualifications as a scholar and statesman. This purpose of the committee has been in part defeated by the inability to obtain, at this time, a copy of General Harrison's Cheviot speech, which will be published hereafter, and the work, in other respects, has been so much better done than we could do it, by Mr. GOODE, one of the Representatives of Ohio in the Congress of the United States, in answer to a shameless attack, by one of the retainers of the Government, upon the character of General Harrison, that the committee have determined to republish large extracts from it as a substitute for their own work, for the most part.

Extracts from the speech of Mr. Goode, of Ohio, delivered in the House of Representatives on the 15th day of February, 1840, in reply to Mr. Crary's attack upon Gen. Harrison.

In advancing the stale and oft-refuted charges against the military arrangements and personal courage of the hero of the Thames, the gentleman from Michigan was probably not the sole author of his own movement. Mr. G. would not positively assert that that gentleman had acted in combination with others, and in the accomplishment of a deliberate plan directed against the well-earned fame of an American General, nor would he suggest that the movement itself was evidence of that terror which began to invade the counsels of the party now in power, on witnessing the throb of joy, the pulsation of enthusiasm, which the late nomination at Harrisburg had sent from one extremity to the other of this wide Republic. That the attack made by the gentleman was not original with him was very plain, from the fact that the substance of it had been given in (if, indeed, it had not been taken from) a paragraph in a late Baltimore paper, which read as follows:

"Governor Harrison marched within sight of the Indian towns and halted. Davies, Taylor, and others, held a conference with the Indians, whom they found in no inconsiderable alarm at the imposing force before them. This fact was communicated to Governor Harrison. Nevertheless, after some delay, during which the Indians were permitted to strengthen themselves by accessions from neighboring tribes, Governor Harrison was induced to encamp on ground *pointed out to him by the Indians*, and most felicitously adapted to the purpose for which *they* had chosen it. On this spot the whole force encamped, in sight of a wily, deadly, and treacherous foe. They encamped without even the customary precaution of throwing up a common log breastwork, which an hour's time might have accomplished. The commander undressed and retired to his repose; and his entire corps, save the common sentinels, followed his example. What was the result of this utter neglect of all the common precautions against attack? Precisely what any one but General Harrison would have foreseen.

"An hour before day the Indians burst upon the encampment, and so complete was the surprise that many of the soldiers met the tomahawk of the savage at the entrance of their tents. Owen and many other gallant spirits fell at the onset. All was confusion and dismay. A body of Indians took shelter behind some logs, and were pouring in a deadly fire. Governor Harrison, with characteristic folly, ordered the chivalrous Davies to charge them. Major Davies was on foot, and, commanding the dragoons, was armed only with pistols; he was thus most wantonly sacrificed to the incapacity of his commanding general. Boyd and his regulars stood their ground with the coolness which marks the well-trained soldier, beat off the enemy until light, and saved the army from annihilation. As the day dawned the Indians retired, having shed much of the best blood of the West, and almost destroyed the gallant body under Governor Harrison's command.

"Governor Harrison retreated as fast as the condition of the wounded would permit; and thus commenced the Indian war which for so long a time drenched our frontier in blood; and thus terminated the famed battle of Tippecanoe, which lies at the foundation of all Gen. Harrison's military glory! For want of foresight in precautionary measures, and want of judgment in action, it is without a parallel in the history of our wars; yet for this General Harrison is dubbed a hero—'the hero of Tippecanoe.'"

One of the gentleman's principal charges is a total want of prudence and caution in the selection of the ground on which his army was to encamp; and that, when the ground was chosen, it was under the advice of Indians who thus trained him and his troops into the middle of a fatal ambuscade. I am prepared to show that this charge is utterly unfounded. After proceeding, on the 6th of November, into the vicinity of the Indian camp, and receiving information that the woods were open, and that there was no impediment to approaching the enemy, General Harrison called a halt, and despatched two of his officers, Colonel Waller Taylor and Major Clarke, to examine the country up and down the creek until they should find a suitable place for encampment. The letter of Colonel Taylor, under date of 22d of February, 1817, then one of his aid-de-camp, speaks thus:

"The spot for encampment was selected by Colonel Clarke (who acted as Brigade Major to Colonel Boyd) and myself. We were directed by General Harrison to examine the country up and down the creek until we should find a suitable place for an encampment. In a short time we discovered the place on which the army encamped, and to which it was conducted by us. No intimation was given by the Indians of their wish that we should encamp there; nor could they possibly have known where the army would encamp until it took its position.

"It has ever been my belief that the position we occupied was the best that could be found any where near us; and I believe that nine-tenths of the officers were of the same opinion. We did not go on the Wabash above the town, but I am certain that there was no position below it that was eligible for an encampment.

WALLER TAYLOR.

"FEBRUARY 22, 1817."

Major Clarke is a gentleman well known to me personally, and, to any one who does know him, his testimony is conclusive evidence. General Taylor, then a Colonel, is no less known in this city, having been one of the first Senators in Congress from the State of Indiana. If these gentlemen are to be believed, the Indians neither did nor could know the spot which Gen. Harrison had selected for his camp. Hear Captain Snelling to the same point:

"My situation as a platoon officer prevented my having any personal knowledge of the transactions above related, as far as respects the *selection* of the encampment of the army, under the command of General Harrison, by his staff officers; but having carefully perused the extract from McAfee's history, I have no hesitation in saying that I believe it to be substantially correct, and that, in my opinion, the ground on which the army encamped combined the advantages of wood, water, and a defensible position, in a greater degree, than any other ground in that section of the country. The ground on the Wabash was wholly unfit—the highland being destitute of water, and the interval (or bottom land as it is called) being without wood and incapable of being

J. SNELLING, Lieutenant Colonel 6th Infantry.

"WASHINGTON, February 28, 1817." [Moses Dawson's *Life of General Harrison*.]

The gentleman from Michigan said something about musty books, and of referring to historical records on the subject of General Harrison's character and achievements, and spoke of them as containing matter unfavorable to General Harrison's reputation. I will not blame the gentleman; he no doubt had his own reasons for this, and in all probability they were very good ones to him and to his party friends who seek to destroy General Harrison's reputation; but as I am not acquainted with them, I intend to look a little into these same "musty books," and to consult the records of by-gone times, that we may see how they speak of men who are now treated as unworthy even of decent respect. Sir, in this examination I hope to take the gentleman from Michigan with me, that I may have the benefit of his military light and experience. Of these, there can be no question, since the gentleman himself, who must be best acquainted with them, considered himself as fully warranted to go into a detailed examination of the military movements of General Harrison, and on his own personal authority, and *profound* military skill to pronounce a public condemnation of them. To be sure, when I heard him assuming this responsibility, I could not avoid some secret thoughts about the disparity, in age and experience, between the critic and the time-honored and war-worn veteran on whom he sat in judgment. The gentleman from Michigan might seem to one who looked no further than the outward appearance, too much like a smooth-faced boy, to have fought many battles, or to have led many armies to victory, or to have had any very enlarged experience in "setting squadrons in the field." Yet, no doubt, one who thus undertakes to set up his own judgment and opinion against the current of history, the consent of contemporaries, and the testimony of intelligent eyewitnesses, and the ablest military talent, must have performed, in his own person, many great and warlike achievements. It is true, I have been so unfortunate as never to have heard of any one of them. There was, I know, a very celebrated campaign on the borders of Michigan and Ohio, some short time since, in which many a gallant knight was on the point of falling, though none fell; but I do not remember, in all the history of those illustrious movements, to have met with so much as the name of this very celebrated brigadier general of Michigan. He has told the House that he is a *general*—and it is well that he has told us—for if he had not, some of us at least would have remained ignorant of it. Yet, distinguished as he is, and well entitled to pronounce a military criticism on the arrangements of great commanders, I could not, as his friend, but deeply

regret the spirit and the manner in which he commenced and conducted his attack upon one whom the people of this whole Republic have delighted to honor. Nothing could justify his going to the lengths he did; and though I seldom rise in this House, and never without the most extreme reluctance, yet, I can tell that gentleman, when he commences an attack like this, I, for one, will not sit by and tamely hold my tongue; and I can assure him further, that, on hearing of such an attempt, there are thousands and hundreds of thousands beyond the mountains who will not hold theirs. Corrupt as the nation has become in some things, a sense of gratitude to the defenders of the country is yet warmly glowing in their bosoms, and deeply impressed on their hearts; and it is possible that the gentleman and his party may yet discover that attacks like these, though harmless as to the object of them, sometimes recoil with fearful power upon those who make them. Yes, sir, they will be visited and repaid with a vengeance, by an indignant community. Sir, did I indulge my feelings on this occasion, I should quote from no books, I should consult no musty records. No man in Ohio, no man in the West—in all the West—wants a book to speak of General Harrison; for it was well said, by a gentleman in the other end of this building, (Richard M. Johnson,) that “the history of the West is his history.” But the gentleman has compelled me, and though it be almost a work of supererogation, I must be permitted to refer to some historical authorities, which I shall do presently, and which may show how the standing of that officer may compare with that of the gentleman from Michigan. I, being no military man, will not undertake to say. And here let me remark, for the benefit of the gentleman from Michigan and his friends, that I am not quoting from a Whig historian: the author of this book is Moses Dawson, of Cincinnati, Ohio, one of the leading friends of Mr. Van Buren, as he was before that, a warm and decided supporter of General Jackson. General Harrison needs not the partial testimony of friends to bolster up his reputation, but may boldly challenge his bitterest and most decided enemies.

And now, I will commend to the gentleman's attention, still further the same historical authority. The gentleman, speaking about the number of Indians present in the battle of Tippecanoe, stated it as being only four hundred and fifty. I do not know where he found his warrant for that estimate, but I will give him the testimony of Moses Dawson again on that point:

“The Indians left thirty-eight warriors dead on the field, and buried several others in the town, which, with those who must have died of their wounds, would make their loss, at least, as great as that of the Americans. The troops under the command of General Harrison, of every description, amounted on the day before the battle to something more than 800. The ordinary force that had been at the Prophet's Town, through the preceding summer, was about 450; but they were joined a few days before the action by all the Kickapoos of the Prairie, and by many bands of the Pottawatamies from the Illinois river, and the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan. They estimated their number after the battle to have been six hundred; but the traders, who had a good opportunity of knowing, made them at least eight hundred, and some as many as one thousand. However, it is certain that no victory was ever before obtained over the Northern Indians where the numbers were any thing like equal. The number of Indians killed, too, was greater than was ever before known. It is believed that there were not ten of them killed at St. Clair's defeat, and still fewer at Braddock's. It is their custom always to avoid a close action. At Tippecanoe, they rushed up to the bayonets of our men.”—*Dawson's Life of General Harrison*, page 215.

They mowed down the forces of St. Clair and Braddock while their own numbers were scarcely at all impaired. But at Tippecanoe, it has been computed, on good authority, that full as many Indians were killed and wounded as there were of the American forces. It is admitted by all that a more obstinate battle never was fought; that Indians never left their covert and came on with more determined fury and a more unflinching perseverance. It is well known that, in general, an Indian force will not stand to receive a charge, but here they rushed upon the bayonets, and it is stated that one savage warrior bravely and adroitly thrust aside the bayonet, and with his war-club crushed in pieces the head of his adversary.

But it has been asked by the gentleman from Michigan why did General Harrison wait until he was attacked by the Indians at all? Why did he not push on upon the 6th, and at once attack their towns, and cut them to pieces? I reply, that if any man will look at the circumstances as they then stood, he will at once perceive that this was impossible, and that, had General Harrison attempted it, he would have exposed himself to far greater censure than is now attempted to be heaped upon him; and what is now the censure would have been deserved. Let it be remembered that General Harrison was directed to act on the defensive, and on the 6th there had been no open declaration of hostilities. The Indians, coming up peaceably to his camp, inquired why he had brought so many troops with him? That, for themselves, they wished for peace, and, as a proof of it, had sent an embassy to him, proposing terms of a permanent pacific arrangement, but, unfortunately, their embassy had failed to meet him, having gone down on the opposite side of the river. Could General Harrison, in the face of such a declaration, have advanced into their towns and used his bayonets on their women and children? If gentlemen complain so loudly now, what would they have said had he pursued conduct like this? It was not in his nature. He could not do it, and he ought not to have done it. But

did he rely on these specious declarations of the Indians? Did he trust their proffers of peace? And, being gulled by their wily protestations, did he walk into the snare which they had prepared for him? Hear, on this point, the voice of history:

"An idea was propagated by the enemies of Governor Harrison, after the battle of Tippecanoe, that the Indians had forced him to encamp on a place chosen by them as suitable for the attack they intended. The place, however, was chosen by Majors Taylor and Clark, after examining all the environs of the town, and when the army of General Hopkins was there in the following year, they all united in the opinion that a better spot to resist Indians was not to be found in the whole country.—*Moses Dawson's Life of General Harrison*, pages 207-'8.

In addition to these authorities, let us hear what is said by military officers who were present on the ground:

"The battle of Tippecanoe having terminated a campaign which led us to victory and honor, it is with pain we behold aspersions in the public prints aiming to destroy the confidence of our country in our late commander-in-chief.

Governor Harrison having relinquished the command of the army lately employed against the Indians, and probably as an officer left us forever, the present statement cannot be attributed to servile flattery, but to the true and honest expression of our real sentiments in favor of a General whose talents, military science, and patriotism, entitle him to a high rank among the worthies of the Union; and whom we consider injured by the gross misrepresentations of the ignorant and designing, who are alike inimical to the best of Governments and the best of men.

"We, therefore, deem it a duty to state as incontestable facts that the commander-in-chief, throughout the campaign, and in the hour of battle, proved himself the soldier and the General; that on the night of the action, by his order, we slept on our arms, and rose on our posts; that, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, and the most consummate savage cunning of the enemy in eluding our sentries, and in rapidly rushing through the guards, we were not found unprepared; that few of them were able to enter our camp, and those few doomed never to return; that in pursuance of his orders, which were adapted to every emergency, the enemy were defeated with a slaughter almost unparalleled among savages. Indeed, one sentiment of confidence, respect, and affection, towards the commander-in-chief pervaded the whole line of the army, which any attempt to destroy we shall consider an insult to our understandings, and an injury to our feelings. Should our country again require our services, to oppose a civilized or savage foe, we should march under the command of Governor Harrison with the most perfect confidence of victory and fame.

JOEL COOK, Captain 4th Infantry.

JOSIAH SNELLING, Captain 4th United States Infantry.

R. C. BARTON, Captain 4th Infantry.

O. G. BURTON, Lieutenant 4th Infantry.

NATHANIEL P. ADAMS, Lieutenant 4th Infantry.

CHARLES FULLER, Lieutenant 4th Infantry.

A. HAWKINS, Lieutenant 4th Infantry.

GEORGE GOODING, 2d Lieutenant 4th Infantry.

H. BURCHSTEAD, Ensign 4th United States Infantry.

JOSIAH D. FOSTER, Surgeon 4th Infantry.

HOSEA BLOOD, Assistant Surgeon 4th Infantry."

The gentleman would persuade us that when the Indian attack was made, General Harrison was in bed, with his clothes off, and his army reposing in security, without even sentinels to guard them. How does that statement agree with the testimony I have read?

But I must again refer the gentleman to the faithful historian and biographer, Moses Dawson, to hear what he says on this point also.

"Whatever might have been the opinion of the Governor and his officers with regard to the probability of the attack on that night, ample evidence will be produced that every precaution that could be taken to resist it with effect was taken; and that the troops could not have been better prepared, had they been made to remain under arms all night.

"All the guards that could be used in such a situation, and all such as were used by General Wayne, were employed on this occasion. That is, camp guards, furnishing a chain of sentinels around the whole camp, at such a distance as to give notice of the approach of an enemy time enough for the troops to take their position, and yet not so far removed as to prevent their retreat on the event of their being overpowered by numbers.

"In conformity with a general order, the troops went to rest with their clothes and accoutrements on, and their arms loaded by their sides and their bayonets fixed. The officers were ordered to sleep in the same manner, and it was the Governor's invariable practice to be completely ready to mount his horse at a moment's warning."—*Dawson's Life of Harrison*, p. 212.

We shall see, by the evidence I shall produce before I take my seat, that the companies, in general, were formed and ready for action within two minutes from the firing of the first gun on the

sentinel, and before the approach of the enemy on the camp, and were ready to receive and repel the savages as they came up, and that General Harrison was on his horse in command. Does this look as if he had been in bed undressed, sleeping in unsuspecting security? There is a gentleman present, who has been a member of this House for years, who named to me an individual who was aid to General Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe, and who declared to him that General Harrison had not slept at all during the previous night. He expected an attack, though it came somewhat sooner than he anticipated. Instead of being in bed and asleep, he was up and dressed, and in the act of putting on his boots when the first gun was heard; when, turning to his officers, he exclaimed, "There are the rascals now."

Let us hear Captain Snelling:

"On the night of the 6th of November, preceding the great action, the company under my command slept on their arms, with their cartridge boxes on, in obedience to a general order I had received some nights before, and which had not been countermanded; I was awoke by the firing of the first gun, seized my sword, and ran to the door of my tent, where I met the orderly sergeant, who asked me if the company should form in the front or rear of the tents—the men were then in the rear, and recollecting that the light of the fires in the front would expose them to the fire of the enemy, and probably occasion some confusion, I directed them to form in rear and counter-march to the front. The whole time occupied in forming could not have exceeded four minutes; and I had faced to the right for the purpose of marching them to their post in the line, when General Harrison rode up and ordered me to cover the 'left flank of the encampment, where the riflemen of Major Robb had fallen back.' He rode with the company and pointed out the post I should occupy. In this situation I had an opportunity of hearing the orders given to Major Davies to charge, and saw the unfortunate issue of it. The fire growing warmer, I asked, and General Harrison gave me permission to charge; and I am fully confident that every movement of my company during the action was made by his orders in person.

"J. SNELLING,

"Captain 4th Regiment U. S. Infantry."

[*M. Dawson's Life of Harrison*, pages 220, 221.]

There is another short letter with which I must trouble the House. It is from Captain Cook:

"The situation of my company being in the centre of the left line, it happened to be the most secure place in the line. At or near 4 o'clock in the morning, I was alarmed by the discharge of a gun, on which I immediately repaired to my company, where I found my men all paraded at their posts. The position of the men during the night, together with myself while at rest, was lying on our arms with our clothes on; as for myself, I lay with my boots and great coat on, and accoutrements buckled around me, with my rifle in my arms. At the report of the gun, I had no more to do than to throw off my blanket, put my hat on, and go to my company, ten or twelve steps from my tent. The time might possibly be one or two minutes, and I found my men as above mentioned.

JOEL COOK,

"Captain 4th Reg. Infantry."

[*M. Dawson's Life of Harrison*, pages 221, 222.]

I ask the gentleman's attention to one more.

"The impression prevails, generally, that the army were surprised in the attack.

"At the time the army left Vincennes, they were formed in the order of battle against the attack of Indians, and were never out of this situation till they returned; each one occupying the ground he would defend himself upon, whether marching or at rest upon it. This all-daring idea was instilled into the army collectively and individually by the General, from the time we entered the wilderness till a trial was had of the effect. The army was trained to be prepared to receive the attack, and nothing but the unremitting attention of General Harrison to enforce the necessary discipline could have brought the troops to such a state of perfection and order as the result of the battle proved. The fact of the army rising from rest and being ready to receive the Indians in two minutes (of which there ought not to be a doubt) after the report of the first fire, is sufficient to satisfy all persons capable of judging, as well as all unprejudiced minds, that it was not a surprise. The officers and soldiers slept with their clothes and accoutrements on, with drawn swords, muskets loaded and bayonets fixed, laying by the sides of those who were to use them in the night attack. In this situation, on the morning of the 7th of November, 1811, about fifteen minutes before the usual time of rising, the Indians attacked us by firing upon the guard, three hundred paces from the lines—they then rushed upon the camp. The troops, although at rest at this moment, were in line and ready to receive them as they came up. An army marching against Indians in this country (the wilderness) is differently situated than when going against civilized enemies. The sending out scouts and spies cannot be done with the most distant prospect of their returning. The army is thus compelled to keep compact, and their authority or knowledge of the Indians extended no further than the ground they occupied: the first that is known of them is the report of their fire. Such attacks from a civilized force would be considered as a surprise, while by Indians it cannot, except the army is unprepared to receive them. At the battle of General Wayne, the Indians got the first fire—at the battle of Brown's-

town, the Indians got the first fire, and they got no further advantage at Tippecanoe. These battles and their results were similar, except the Indians engaged more desperately in the latter. If the army had been surprised, according to the general understanding upon such attacks, I may conclude by saying, not one would have ever returned to tell the tale.

"M. DAWSON, Esq.

"I am, respectfully, sir, your obedient servant,

C. LARRABEE."

[*Dawson's Life of Harrison*, page 229.]

"MOSES DAWSON, Esq. Sir: You request my opinion of General William Henry Harrison as a citizen, a soldier, and a general. I have had the pleasure of an acquaintance, intimately, for many years with General Harrison, and ever considered him a man of honor; one who sought to do justice, and who was always willing to assist and benefit the condition of those with whom he was acquainted and associated, and know him to be the friend of the oppressed and injured. Hospitality, without ostentation, was always to be found within his doors, and his household was ever ready to extend charity to the sick and needy.

"As a soldier and an officer, I can speak from an acquaintance formed with him as such that I shall ever be proud of. I served under him in the campaign of 1811, upon the Wabash, as a Captain, and shared with him the danger in the action of Tippecanoe, in the night, on the 7th November, 1811. No one on the march or in the return did I hear murmur a complaint of the General's conduct. He possessed the confidence, and was the pride of the army—his absence even for one day was felt by the army.

"I have thought, and still think, that few generals would have faced danger at so many points as General Harrison did in the action of Tippecanoe. Wherever the action was warmest, was General Harrison to be found, and heard encouraging and cheering the officers and soldiers. His humanity, his attention, and his care of the wounded after the action, from the battle-ground to the hospital in Vincennes, was that of a benevolent Christian, and was evidence of the goodness of his heart. I cannot but say that I consider General Harrison's conduct in the campaign and in the action of Tippecanoe unexceptionable as a soldier and as a General, and will be so considered by every soldier and officer of the United States, when correctly informed, who was a friend to the late war, an enemy to Indian warfare, and who returned from the army with clean hands.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

"THOMAS SCOTT."

[*Moses Dawson's Life of General Harrison*, p. 228.]

So much for the charge that the army was taken by surprise, and the troops massacred through the incapacity and unofficer-like conduct of the commanding General.

And now, on these solid historical grounds, may I not, with the utmost confidence, rest the whole question as to the far-famed battle of Tippecanoe? Have I not, or rather has not history met and confuted every charge against the fame of General Harrison? Has it not been shown that he could not have fought earlier? That he chose the ground of his encampment on the report of his own staff officers? That he was on the alert, and undecieved? That the army was prepared? That the attack was met with unparalleled celerity? That the battle was fought with determined valor, and, though it was a bloody one to our own troops, that it was no less fatal to the savage foe? If these things can be proved by historical documents, they have been proved. Let it be remembered that, in thus repelling the base assault on the fair fame of a brave and illustrious man, I am not speaking as a politician. No, sir, there is a higher and nobler feeling than that of mere party zeal; it is a feeling which comes home to the breast of every American—yes, of every honorable and honest man, when he hears the attempt to malign and destroy by slander a name connected with the brightest pages of our country's annals. Why, sir, if the name of the veriest enemy I have on the face of the earth were thus linked and entwined and identified with the military glory of my country, I would be the last man living to detract in any way from his well-earned laurels, and I should hold myself to be a wretch unworthy of the name of a man could I, for the sake of gratifying a personal resentment or political party purpose, thus sacrifice the honor of the land that gave me birth.

Such was the battle, and what were its consequences? Let the gentleman ask Ohio—let him ask Indiana—let him inquire of Illinois; nay, of the whole West. The effect of the battle was, at one blow, to put an end to the war in that section—to give quietness and security to that entire frontier.

Sir, how was General Harrison received when he returned from that campaign? The gentleman charges him with being the cause of the havoc of his soldiery, and of sacrificing, through his imbecility, some of the best blood of Kentucky. Let us see what Kentucky herself thought of that matter. Let me read to the gentleman a resolution adopted by both branches of the Legislature of Kentucky on the 7th of January, 1812:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Kentucky, That, in the late campaign against the Indians upon the Wabash, Governor William Henry Harrison has behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general; and that, for his cool, deliberate, skilful, and gallant conduct in the battle of Tippecanoe, he well deserves the warmest thanks of his country and his nation."

This does not sound much like the indignation of a State whose best blood had been wantonly thrown away through the incapacity of an incompetent officer. And, in further confirmation of the feeling expressed in this resolution, I refer to a fact, which is in itself the most complete and unanswerable refutation which any man could conceive of the base and unfounded slander which has now been revived. When Kentucky raised a volunteer force to go upon the lines and defend a country menaced by the British force, she placed Harrison, though not a citizen of Kentucky, at its head, as the first military man in the West. And mark the following testimonial of Mr. Madison :

“JAMES MADISON, in his message to Congress, November 1812, said : ‘An ample force from the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, is placed, with the addition of a few regulars, under the command of Brigadier General Harrison, who possesses the entire confidence of his fellow-soldiers, among whom are citizens, some of them volunteers in the ranks, not less distinguished by their political stations than by their personal merits.’”

And what said Indiana ? In the Legislature of Indiana, on the 12th November, 1811, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, General William Johnson, thus addressed General Harrison :

“SIR : The House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory, in their own name, and in behalf of their constituents, most cordially reciprocate the congratulations of your Excellency on the glorious result of the late sanguinary conflict with the Shawnee Prophet, and the tribes of Indians confederated with him. When we see displayed in behalf of our country, not only the consummate abilities of the General, but the heroism of the man ; and when we take into view the benefits which must result to that country from those exertions, we cannot for a moment withhold our meed of applause.”

And lastly, what said James Madison, in a special message to Congress, December 18, 1811 ? He said :

“While it is deeply lamented that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 7th ultimo, Congress will see, with satisfaction, the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of the troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander, on an occasion requiring the utmost exertion of valor and discipline. It may reasonably be expected that the good effects of a critical defeat and dispersion of a combination of savages which appears to have been spreading to a greater extent will be experienced, not only in the cessation of the murders and depredations committed on our frontier, but in the prevention of any hostile incursions otherwise to have been apprehended.”

Need I go further ? No, sir, not for any Western man. Nothing that I can say can add aught to their confidence in General Harrison, or their undying gratitude for his great military services.

But the gentleman from Michigan is not content with giving us his commentary on the battle of Tippecanoe ; he still pursues General Harrison with a persevering malignity that is truly surprising. He complains, with no less severity, of the movements of the General after that battle. Tecumseh, the great man of the Indian tribes—one of Nature's great men, noble-minded, of high talent, of enlarged and comprehensive views, and with the highest sense of honor, beholding the slaughter of that fatal field, and feeling deeply the blow which had been given to the power and fame of the red man, planned, in his heart, a mighty revenge. He collected a large Indian force, and united himself to the British army under Proctor, with a determination to regain the ground which had been lost. To meet him and the British General, (Proctor,) General Harrison concentrated his forces at the North, on Lake Erie, where we next find him in active operation. The gentleman has asked why he did not at once march forward, recover Detroit, which Hull had surrendered, and capture Malden ? Sir, there were some very embarrassing circumstances in General Harrison's situation. Through some influence, General Winchester had been associated with him in command. There was, in fact, a collision between the authorities of the two commanders ; and no man, at all versed in history, need be told of the injurious effect which has always followed such an arrangement. In the present instance, it resulted in the defeat at the river Raisin. In the blame of that defeat, be it remembered, Harrison has no share ; the command was with General Winchester, and the responsibility rested on him. That defeat reduced the American force to less than a thousand men—in fact, to little over eight hundred. Harrison was thrown back, and, being baffled in the hope of then delivering Detroit, he was compelled to retire on the Maumee, and took post at Fort Meigs, a little above the foot of the rapids. Here he had to collect stores, to recall and concentrate his scattered forces, while, at the same time, he was charged with the defence of the whole line of that Northern frontier. I was then a lad in Ohio, too young myself to join the army, but my neighbors and near relatives were there. They had left the bosom of their families, but *they* did it under this consolation, that those families were now freed from the dread of the torch and the scalping-knife of the savage. Not a family left their home—they knew that Harrison was upon the lines, and they felt as if there was an impregnable wall between them and danger.

The experienced gentleman from Michigan charges General Harrison, at this time, with being slow and dilatory. Sir, there are, I believe, in war, other claims to merit besides a rash and reckless valor. Had General Harrison, under the circumstances then existing, rushed forward as the gentleman would have had him to do, he would have left behind him an open avenue, through which the savages would have poured in, spreading havoc and desolation through all our settlements. What the calculations and expectations of the country may have been I cannot tell; but if immediate success was indeed expected against Malden, there certainly was a great mistake as to the forces requisite for such an enterprise.

Hear what his own officers say:

“To his Excellency WM. HENRY HARRISON,

“*Commander-in-chief of the Northwestern Army.*

“On retiring from service, sir, we are happy in assuring you of our fullest confidence, and that of our respective commands, in the measures you have taken; they have been cautious and guarded, such as would at this time have carried our arms to the walls of Malden, had not the unhappy occurrences at the river Raisin checked your progress, and, for a short time, thwarted your plans of operation. That you may soon teach the enemy the distinction between an honorable and a savage warfare, by planting our standard in the heart of their country, and regain the honor and territory we have lost, and, as a just tribute to valor, toils and suffering, receive the grateful thanks of a generous and free people, is among the first, the warmest wishes of our hearts.

EDWARD W. TUPPER, Brigadier General.

SIMON PERKINS, Brigadier General.

CHARLES MILLER, Colonel.

JOHN ANDREWS, Lieutenant Colonel.

WILLIAM RAYEN, Colonel.

ROBERT SPAFFORD, Lieut. Col. 2d reg. Ohio quota.

N. BEASLEY, Major.

JAMES GALLOWAY, Major.

SOLOMON BENTLEY, Major.

GEORGE DARROW, Major.

W. W. COTGREAVE, Major.

JACOB FREDERICK, Major.”

[*Dawson's Life of Harrison, page 377.*

It is impossible to estimate correctly the distressing and perplexing difficulties he had here to encounter, in transporting the necessary materials for an active campaign and the defence of the Northern frontier; every article to be carried through an extensive wilderness, uninhabited, without roads or canals, with a numerous and vigilant enemy before him to watch and keep in check. Here Harrison was, and conducted every thing in person.

The British now approached the line, and General Harrison was attacked and besieged at Fort Meigs by a vastly superior force. He had managed to collect about one thousand effective men, while the force of Indians and regulars under Proctor was not less than four times that number. The historian says that, in the construction of Fort Meigs, the officers worked in the ditches, side by side with the soldiers, and, when the fort was assailed, its ammunition, powder, and ball, &c., was totally insufficient, if the siege had been protracted to a great length.

I will not mention what was the character and conduct of that volunteer force which came to his aid from Ohio and Kentucky. I will leave this to abler hands. There is a gentleman near me (pointing to Mr. UNDERWOOD, of Kentucky,) who was in the service with General Harrison; he knows, and is willing and ready to testify. There are others around me who were wounded while in the army with Harrison, and now members of this House. They know whether I am telling the truth, when I say that the defence of Fort Meigs may fairly be considered as one of the most brilliant and extraordinary events which distinguished the late war; that work of defence, consisting of a mud embankment and an enclosure of picquets, was defended triumphantly and successfully by about one thousand men, for many days, against the attack of Proctor, who commanded an army of British and Indians, at least four times the number of Harrison's, and well furnished for the siege. Such were the skill, the bravery, and the indefatigable efforts of General Harrison—such was the success of the repeated sallies he made, that he compelled the enemy to abandon the siege in despair.

One incident is worth mentioning, that, on the second day of the attack, Proctor sent an officer with a flag to demand the surrender of the post, on the grounds that the American forces were too weak to sustain the siege against his overwhelming force, and General Proctor was anxious to save the effusion of blood. General Harrison promptly replied:

“If General Proctor knows the usages of war, as I am bound to believe he does, he must either have considered me ignorant of them, or he must have intended an insult. It was his duty to make the demand before he commenced firing on the works. But, sir, said he, go back and tell your General that I know my own force and his, and that I shall defend the works to the last extremity. Tell him, further, that, if he ever possesses the fort, *he shall obtain it in a way*

that will give him more honor in the estimation of his Government than he could receive from a thousand surrenders."—*Dawson's Life of Harrison*, p. 392.

Let me here, Mr. Speaker, introduce some testimony relative to the investment of Lower Sandusky by the British and Indians: the noble defence of that fort by the gallant Croghan, concerning which the most unfounded representations have been made, and are still made, in relation to the conduct of General Harrison on that occasion, and that in the face of positive evidence to the contrary:

"LOWER SANDUSKY, August 27, 1813.

"I have, with much regret, seen in some of the public prints such misrepresentations respecting my refusal to evacuate this post, as are calculated not only to injure me in the estimation of military men, but also to excite unfavorable impressions as to the propriety of General Harrison's conduct relative to this affair.

"His character as a military man is too well established to need my approbation or support. But his public services entitle him, at least, to common justice; this affair does not furnish cause of reproach. If public opinion has been lately misled respecting his late conduct, it will require but a moment's cool dispassionate reflection to convince them of its propriety. The measures recently adopted by him, so far from deserving censure, are the clearest proofs of his keen penetration and able generalship. It is true that I did not proceed immediately to execute his order to evacuate this post; but this disobedience was not, as some would wish to believe, the result of a fixed determination to maintain the post contrary to his most positive orders, as will appear from the following detail, which is given to explain my conduct.

"About 10 o'clock on the morning of the 30th ult., a letter from the Adjutant General's Office, dated Seneca Town, July 29, 1813, was handed me by Mr. Conner, ordering me to abandon this post, burn it, and retreat that night to head-quarters. On the reception of the order, I called a council of officers, in which it was determined not to abandon the place, at least until the further pleasure of the General should be known, as it was thought an attempt to retreat in the open day, in the face of a superior force of the enemy, would be more hazardous than to remain in the fort, under all its disadvantages. I therefore wrote a letter to the General, couched in such terms as I thought were calculated to deceive the enemy should it fall into his hands, which I thought more than probable, as well as to inform the General, should it be so fortunate as to reach him, that I should wait to hear from him before I should proceed to execute his order. This letter, contrary to my expectations, was received by the General, who, not knowing what reasons urged me to write in a tone so decisive, concluded, very rationally, that the manner of it was demonstrative of the most positive determination to disobey his order under any circumstances. I was, therefore, suspended from the command of the fort, and ordered to head-quarters. But, on explaining to the General my reason for not executing his orders, and my object in using the style I had done, he was so perfectly satisfied with the explanation that I was immediately reinstated in the command.

"It will be recollected that the order above alluded to was written on the night previous to my receiving it. Had it been delivered to me, as it was intended, that night, I should have obeyed it without hesitation; its not reaching me in time was the only reason which induced me to consult my officers on the propriety of waiting the General's further orders.

"It has been stated, also, that, 'upon my representations of my ability to maintain the post, the General altered his determination to abandon it.' This is incorrect. No such representation was ever made. And the last order I received from the General was precisely the same as that first given, viz: 'That if I discovered the approach of a large British force by water (presuming that they would bring heavy artillery) time enough to effect a retreat, I was to do so; but, if I could not retreat with safety, to defend the post to the last extremity.'

"A day or two before the enemy appeared before Fort Meigs, the General had reconnoitered the surrounding ground, and being informed that the hill on the opposite side of Sandusky completely commanded the fort, I offered to undertake, with the troops under my command, to remove it to that side. The General, upon reflection, thought it best not to attempt it, as he believed that if the enemy again appeared on this side of the lake, it would be before the work could be finished.

"It is useless to disguise the fact that this fort is commanded by the points of high ground around it: a single stroke of the eye made this clear to me the first time I had occasion to examine the neighborhood, with a view of discovering the relative strength and weakness of the place.

"It would be insincere to say that I am not flattered by the many handsome things which have been said about the defence which was made by the troops under my command; but I desire no plaudits which are bestowed upon me at the expense of General Harrison.

"I have at all times enjoyed his confidence as far as my rank in the army entitled me to it; and on proper occasions received his marked attention. I have felt the warmest attachment for him as a man, and my confidence in him as an *able commander* remains unshaken. I feel every assurance that he will at all times do me ample justice; and nothing could give me more pain than to see his enemies seize upon this occasion to deal out their unfriendly feelings and acrimonious dislike: and, as long as he continues (as in my humble opinion he has hitherto

done) to make the wisest arrangements and most judicious disposition which the forces under his command will justify, I shall not hesitate to unite with the army in bestowing upon him that confidence which he so richly merits, and which has upon no occasion been withheld.

"Your friend,

"GEORGE CROGHAN,

"Major 17th Infantry, Commanding Lower Sandusky."

[*Dawson's Life of General Harrison.*

LOWER SENECA TOWN, August 19, 1813.

"The undersigned, being the general, field, and staff officers with that portion of the north-western army under the immediate command of General Harrison, have observed, with regret and surprise, that charges, as improper in the form as in the substance, have been made against the conduct of General Harrison during the recent investment of Lower Sandusky. * *

"On a review of the course then adopted, we are decidedly of the opinion that it was such as was dictated by military wisdom, and by a due regard to our own circumstances and to the situation of the enemy. The reasons for this opinion it is evidently improper now to give; but we hold ourselves ready at a future period, and when other circumstances shall have intervened, to satisfy every man of its correctness who is anxious to investigate, and willing to receive, the truth. And with a ready acquiescence, beyond the mere claims of military duty, we are prepared to obey a General whose measures meet our most deliberate approbation, and merit that of his country.

LEWIS CASS, Brigadier General U. S. Army.

SAMUEL WELLS, Col. 17th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

THOS. D. OWINGS, Col. 28th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

GEORGE PAULL, Col. 17th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

J. C. BARTLETT, Col. Quartermaster General.

JAMES V. BALL, Lieutenant Colonel.

ROBERT MORRISON, Lieutenant Colonel.

GEO. TODD, Major 19th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

WM. TRIGG, Major 28th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

JAS. SMILEY, Major 28th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

RD. GRAHAM, Major 17th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

GEO. CROGHAN, Major 17th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

L. HUKILL, Major and Assistant Inspector General.

E. D. WOOD, Major Engineers."

[*Dawson's Life of Harrison, pages 409, 410.*

The gentleman is not willing to give General Harrison the credit of originating the plan of an armament upon the lake. He says that the General was unwilling to follow the directions given him, and had inquired of the Secretary whether the command of the lake could be obtained. Hence the gentleman concludes that he was opposed to the measure of the Department, and differed from the Secretary in opinion, though he could not stop his plans. From that time, says the gentleman, the Secretary of War adopted harsh measures; that the standing of General Harrison was low at the Department; that the discretion he formerly exercised was taken from him; and that the measures were distinctly laid down which he was to pursue.

Sir, here is conclusive evidence that the suggestions of getting command of the lake came from General Harrison:

"There can be no doubt, however, but that the fleet built at Erie, by which the command of the lakes was obtained, was a project recommended by General Harrison, and adopted by Mr. Madison, on account of his unbounded confidence in General Harrison's opinions and recommendations. In one letter he says, 'admitting that Malden and Detroit are both taken, Mackinaw and St. Joseph will both remain in the hands of the enemy until we can create a force capable of contending with the vessels which the British have on Lake Michigan.' And in another letter he says, 'should an offensive operation be suspended till spring, it is my decided opinion that the cheapest and most effectual plan will be to obtain the command of Lake Erie. This being once effected, every difficulty would be removed. An army of four thousand men, landed on the north side of the lake below Malden, will reduce that place, retake Detroit, and, with the aid of the fleet, proceed down the lake to co-operate with the army from Niagara.'"

[*Extracts from General Harrison's Letters.*

Let me now, Mr. Speaker, read a testimony or two as to his conduct at the battle of the Thames. It is true that the glory of that battle has caused it to be so often mentioned that in some ears it has become a twice-told tale; but, sir, are its merits lessened because it has been often repeated? What does the gentleman say to the following?

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and they are hereby, presented to Major General William Henry Harrison and Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky, and through them to the officers and men under their command, for their gallantry and good conduct in defeating the combined British and Indian forces under Major General Proctor, on the Thames, in Upper Canada, on the fifth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, capturing the

British army, with their baggage, camp equipage, and artillery; and that the President of the States be requested to cause two gold medals to be struck, emblematical of this triumph, and presented to General Harrison and Isaac Shelby, late Governor of Kentucky.

"H. CLAY,

"*Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

"JOHN GAILLARD,

"*President of the Senate, pro tempore.*

"JAMES MONROE.

"APRIL 4, 1818.—Approved :

BATTLE OF THE THAMES.

"A more able disposition could not be made under such circumstances than was made by General Harrison. His conduct on this day is distinguished by a masterly device of his own, purely original, and such as none but a bold and inventive genius, peculiarly formed for the military profession, could have hit upon, or would have hazarded. It was not until the 5th of October that Proctor was overtaken. On that day the enemy was discerned in a position skilfully chosen. A narrow strip of dry land, flanked by the river Thames on the left, and by a swamp on the right, was occupied by his regular infantry and artillery, while on the right flank lay Tecumseh with his followers on the eastern margin of the swamp." But Proctor committed an error in forming his infantry in open order. General Harrison availing himself of the fact, and aware that troops so disposed could not resist a charge of mounted men, he directed Colonel Johnson to dash through the enemy's line in column. The movement was made with brilliant success. The mounted men charged with promptitude and vigor, broke through the line of the enemy, formed in the rear, and assailed the broken line with a success unequalled, and nearly the whole of the British regulars were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. On the left the Indians contended more severely, but Tecumseh being killed in the battle, they were soon subdued. Proctor fled in shameful desertion of his troops, escorted by his life-guard. The defeat of the enemy was complete. All the baggage of Proctor and military stores, together with his official papers, fell into the hands of General Harrison; and several field-pieces which had been taken from the British in the Revolutionary war at Saratoga and Yorktown, but which had been shamefully surrendered by Hull, at Detroit, were retaken. The war having been thus gloriously terminated in his own district, General Harrison repaired to Erie, and soon after to the seat of Government, Washington city. His resignation soon followed, as he retired to his private residence at North Bend, in the State of Ohio, and is now living as a private citizen."—*Sketches of the Life of General Harrison.*

And what is the gentleman's opinion of the competency of Colonel Johnson to form an opinion of his commander, whether as a civil or military character? Hear him :

"Who is General Harrison? The son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who spent the greater part of his large fortune in redeeming the pledge he then gave, of his 'fortune, life, and sacred honor,' to secure the liberties of his country.

"Of the career of General Harrison I need not speak—the history of the West is his history. For forty years he has been identified with its interests, its perils, and its hopes. Universally beloved in the walks of peace, and distinguished by his ability in the councils of his country, he has been yet more illustriously distinguished in the field.

"During the late war he was longer in active service than any other general officer; he was, perhaps, oftener in action than any one of them, and never sustained a defeat."

And hear Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, and Commodore Perry :

Extract of a letter from Governor Shelby, dated at

"FRANKFORT, April 21, 1816.

"In short, sir, from the time I joined you to the moment of our separation, I believe that no commander ever did, or could, make greater exertions than you did to effect the great objects of the campaign. I admired your plans, and thought them executed with great energy; particularly your order of battle, and arrangement for landing on the Canada shore, were calculated to inspire every officer and man with confidence that we could not be defeated by any thing like our own number.

"Until after I had served the campaign of 1813, I was not aware of the difficulties which you had to encounter as commander of the northwestern army. I have since often said, and still do believe, that the duties assigned to you on that occasion were more arduous and difficult to accomplish than any I had ever known confided to any commander; and with respect to the zeal and fidelity with which you executed that high and important trust, there are thousands in Kentucky, as well as myself, who believed it could not have been committed to better hands.

"With sentiments of the most sincere regard and esteem, I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

"ISAAC SHELBY."

[*Dawson's Life of Harrison, page 423.*

Extract of a letter from Commodore Perry, dated at

"NEWPORT, August 18, 1817.

"Although I have little or no pretension to military knowledge as relates to an army, still I may be allowed to bear testimony to your zeal and activity in the pursuit of the British army

under General Proctor, and to say the prompt change made by you in the order of battle, on discovering the position of the enemy, always has appeared to me to have evinced a high degree of military talent. I concur most sincerely with the venerable Governor Shelby in his general approbation of your conduct (as far as it came under my observation) in that campaign.

"With great regard, I am, my dear sir, your friend,

"O. H. PERRY."

[*Dawson's Life of Harrison, page 423.*]

Does this look as if General Harrison was indebted to others for the suggestion of every military movement? Such is the insinuation of the gentleman from Michigan, but such is not the opinion of men who served with him, served under him, were eye-witnesses of his conduct, and had a deep and vital stake in its consequences.

We come now to the closing scenes of his military history. When, after having restored peace and tranquillity to the Western country, drove the enemy from our borders, and put an end to the war in that region, he went to Ohio, and shortly afterwards resigned; having first repaired to the seat of Government, where we have seen, instead of his standing having been impaired in any degree in the heads of Departments or with Congress, as the gentleman from Michigan would have us to believe, he was received, yes, sir, hailed in triumph, by the President, Mr. Madison, and by Congress.

His journey from the seat of war to Washington was a triumph. Military glory sat upon his brow, and wherever he came he was met with the heartfelt cheerings of his countrymen, who hailed him as their deliverer. Alas! that there should be found a man in this House who seeks to pluck a leaf from such laurels. Sorry am I for the gentleman himself! And still more sorry for a party who, while the British feel and admit the valor of our arms, in what has been well denominated the second war of independence, attempt at home to stab a reputation which is the proud property of his country. In Harrison did the British feel American power and American independence—in him was British power prostrated, humbled, and made to lick the dust. Never did the American eagle perch more proudly than on the Thames, and yet there are those who would stab to the heart the reputation of him by whom the second independence was won. Sir, I will compare the opinion of the gentleman from Michigan with the opinion of President Madison:

"The success on Lake Erie having opened a passage to the territory of the enemy, the officer commanding the Northwestern arms transferred the war thither, and, rapidly pursuing the hostile troops fleeing with their savage associates, forced a general action, which quickly terminated in the capture of the British, and dispersion of the savage force.

"*This result is signally honorable to Major General HARRISON, by whose military talents it was prepared.*"

What says the lamented Colonel Davies?—that very officer whose blood, according to the gentleman from Michigan, was wantonly wasted at the battle of Tippecanoe. In a letter, dated the 24th of August, 1811, he delivers this emphatic opinion:

"I make free to declare that I have imagined there were two military men in the West, and General Harrison is the first."

That was the judgment of that distinguished and brave Kentuckian. Now listen to the public testimony of a distinguished Pennsylvanian:

From the message of Simon Snyder, Governor of Pennsylvania, December 10, 1813.

"Already is the brow of the young warrior Croghan, encircled with laurels, and the blessings of thousands of women and children rescued from the scalping-knife of the ruthless savage of the wilderness, and from the still more savage Proctor, rest on Harrison and his gallant army."

Let me add one or two more testimonials, and then I will bid adieu to the military character and standing of William Henry Harrison.

Governor Shelby to Mr. Madison, May 18, 1814, says:

"I feel no hesitation to declare to you that I believe General Harrison to be one of the first military characters I ever knew."

Colonel Richard M. Johnson to General Harrison, July 4, 1813, says:

"We did not want to serve under cowards or traitors, but under one [HARRISON] who had proved himself to be wise, prudent, and brave."

The opinion of the honorable Langdon Cheves, of the importance of the victory of the Thames, and the bravery of General Wm. H. HARRISON:

"The victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman General, in the best days of the Republic, the honors of a triumph! He put an end to the war in the uppermost Canada."

The gentleman from Indiana placed the question of General Harrison's reputation solely upon the ground of his military achievements, but therein he did him great injustice. His country has certainly not been of that opinion, as will appear from a simple enumeration of the succession of civil posts to which they have called this faithful public servant, Wm. H. HARRISON.

In 1791, when 19 years of age, he was appointed by Washington an ensign in our infant army. In 1792, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant: and in 1793 joined the legion under General Wayne, and in a few days thereafter was selected by him as one of his Aids.

On the 24th of August, 1794, he distinguished himself in the battle of the Miami, and elicited the most flattering written approbation of General Wayne.

In 1795, he was made a Captain, and was placed in command of Fort Washington.

In 1797, he was appointed by President Adams Secretary of the Northwestern Territory, and *ex officio* Lieutenant Governor.

In 1798, he was chosen a Delegate to Congress.

In 1801, he was appointed Governor of Indiana, and in the same year President Jefferson appointed him sole commissioner for treating with the Indians.

In 1809, he was appointed Governor of Indiana, by Madison.

On the 7th of November, 1811, he gained the great victory of TIPPECANOE.

On the 11th September, 1812, the siege of Fort Meigs commenced—lasted five days, and was terminated by the brilliant and successful sortie of General Harrison.

On the 5th of October, 1813, he gained the splendid victory of the THAMES, over the British and Indians under Proctor.

In 1814, he was appointed by Madison one of the Commissioners to treat with the Indians, and in the same year, with his colleagues, Governor Shelby and General Cass, concluded the celebrated treaty of Greenville.

In 1815, he was again appointed such Commissioner, with General McArthur and Mr. Graham, and negotiated a treaty at Detroit.

In 1816, he was elected a member of Congress.

In January, 1818, he introduced a resolution in honor of Kosciusko, and supported it in one of the most feeling, and classical, and eloquent speeches ever delivered in the House of Representatives.

In 1819, he was elected a member of the Ohio Senate.

In 1824, he was elected Senator in Congress, and was appointed, in 1825, Chairman of the Military Committee, in place of General Jackson, who had resigned.

In 1827, he was appointed Minister to Colombia, and in 1829 wrote his immortal letter to Bolivar, the deliverer of South America.

Had I not already detained the House so long, it would be a pleasing task to dwell on the manner in which he discharged the important duties of these successive stations. It has but deepened the impression before produced by his military services, and has given him a hold in the hearts of his countrymen, which the utmost efforts of malice and detraction will never be able to destroy or impair.

Here I will make only one remark on the eminent services of General Harrison, while a delegate in Congress from the Territory. He had seen the injustice of the monopoly introduced into the LAND SYSTEM of the United States, by which the poorer class of citizens were effectually excluded from its benefits. The public lands were sold in tracts so large that none but the wealthy could purchase. The poor man was compelled to buy second-handed, and consequently at an advanced price; he was at the mercy of the speculator. Harrison had witnessed the oppressive operation of that principle, and resolved to correct the evil. He brought the subject before Congress, exposed the injustice and iniquity of the plan, and obtained the passage of a law directing the lands to be subdivided and sold in small tracts. That alteration in the system placed the poor man on a footing with the man of wealth, and put it in the power of the entire West to become freeholders and independent farmers. It should be known to every one by whose energy this was obtained. The records of Congress show that this was Harrison! His energy, his sense of justice, secured this great benefit to the independent farmers of the West, and raised the poor man to comfort and to competence.

I should love to trace him back to his illustrious ancestry—illustrious like himself, by the services they have done their country. I should love to follow him from the paternal mansion in Virginia, where he vowed away his life and fortune at the shrine of his country's glory, to the peaceful shades of the Great Bend, where he reposes from the toils of the camp and all the labors of high public employment, and seeks his enjoyment and earns an honorable independence by cultivating the bosom of the earth. But for this I have but little time, and it is not necessary.

But, sir, I must be permitted merely to sketch at his parentage and education.

“General Harrison is descended from one of the oldest and most respectable families in Virginia. Through the earliest records of the colonies, the name of Harrison may be traced in the highest order of office. His father, Benjamin Harrison, rendered himself particularly conspicuous by his prompt adoption of the cause of the colonies, in defiance of the suggestions of self-interest, which, at that period, would have dictated an adherence to the cause of the mother country. His possessions in the country were large, and his personal influence extensive and commanding. Insensible, however, to every personal interest, he, on the first breaking out of the Revolutionary troubles, without hesitation or delay, formed the generous resolution to cling to the cause of his country, in defence of her rights and independence—to put his property, his life, and all his hopes on the hazard of the die—nay, if it should be necessary, to lay them all down as a sacrifice in the struggle—and, in a word, to rise or fall with the fortunes of America.

"As to his politics, General Harrison has always been a Democratic Republican of the school of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. And his father was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Here we see General Harrison, born of the blood and bred in the school of patriotism, exhibits in his whole career, civil and military, most brilliantly the character and acts of an able statesman, a high-minded patriot, a brave soldier, and a successful commander. There are persons who no doubt yet remember his arrival at Cincinnati. The young ensign, then a stripling of nineteen years of age, tall, spare, but manly in his person, was now just commencing his life of usefulness. He here at once entered on all the hardships of a savage war, in an unbroken wilderness."—*Sketches of the life of General Harrison.*

And here, Mr. Speaker, commenced that reputation which, matured by future illustrious services, has won for him his country's confidence and his country's laurels. I think it my duty, Mr. Speaker, here in my place in the House, to give a mere passing notice to one or two of those base slanders intended to detract from the fair reputation and full confidence which General Harrison so richly possesses, and the well-earned laurels which so gracefully adorn his brow.

It is strange how a sense of guilt will drive the wrong-doer to a pretended justification, no matter how false may be the grounds. It would seem that, sensible that something was necessary to palliate the arbitrary recall of General Harrison from his mission to Colombia, it is said "that he was recalled on account of his having *interfered with the domestic relations of the nation.*" Now, sir, I wish to call the attention of the gentleman and his party to the following simple statement of facts, which give the most unequivocal denial to this base falsehood:

"On the 10th day of November, 1828, General Harrison, as Minister to Colombia, embarked from the United States on his mission.

"On the 27th day of February, 1829, he presented his credentials at Bogota, and was 'received with great respect. We congratulate Colombia on beholding the interest which is manifested by the Government of the United States to cultivate the most friendly relations with this Republic, by sending among us so distinguished a citizen as General Harrison.' The Government has full confidence that his permanent residence in this capital will contribute generally to strengthen the harmony and good understanding which happily exists between the two nations."

[*Official Gazette, Bogota.*]

"So that it was impossible that it could have been known in the United States on the 12th day of March, 1829, when General Harrison was superseded by Thomas P. Moore, of Kentucky, that he had arrived at Colombia, much less that any difficulty had occurred there. Mr. Moore was appointed on the 12th of March, only twelve days after General Harrison presented his credentials at Bogota, and no difficulty had then taken place. So that he was not recalled upon any charge whatever."

Not content here, General Harrison is charged with being a federalist of the old school, and a friend of the alien and sedition laws.

This, Mr. Speaker, is a flat, point-blank falsehood. Do not understand me as charging it upon the gentleman from Michigan; by no means; but, sir, the whole life of General Harrison shows it to be a falsehood. At the time referred to (in 1799 and 1800) he was only a Delegate in Congress from the Northwestern Territory, and had no vote. He says, in reply to Mr. Randolph, in the Senate, in 1826, that, having no vote, he did not think it proper to take part in the discussion of any of the great political questions which divided the two parties. His business was to procure the passage of the bills he had introduced for the benefit of the people he represented. Neither Mr. Randolph nor any other person had any means of knowing his political principles, unless he obtained them in private conversation. And (continued General Harrison) "my opposition to the alien and sedition law was so well known in the Territory, that a promise was extorted from me by my friends in the Legislature, that I would express no opinions which were in the least calculated to defeat the important objects with which I was charged." Here, Mr. Speaker, is this charge met by General Harrison in the Senate, denied and refuted, and not attempted to be set up afterwards. And, in his address in 1822, he declares himself "a republican of the old Jeffersonian school." And I defy any man, friend or foe, to produce any authentic proof in support of the charge of federalism or friendship to the alien and sedition law.

One word more. He is charged with being a friend of internal improvements, and in favor of every profligate expenditure of the public money. In reply, I say to the gentleman from Michigan and his party friends, that, in relation to the power of the Government to appropriate money for the purposes of internal improvement, General Harrison appears to have entertained no doubt. Besides his votes in favor of appropriations for the continuance of the Cumberland road, one of his first acts, after taking his seat in the House, was to move to instruct the Committee on Roads and Canals "to inquire into the expediency of granting money, to be expended under the direction of the President, for removing obstructions in the navigation of the Ohio river, created by the falls, near Louisville, Kentucky." But, sir, the charge that he is in favor of profligate or even indiscriminate expenditures of public money, is totally false, as all his votes in Congress show. To use his own language, "*he was in favor of every practical retrenchment in the expenditures of the Government.*" And, in his letter to Mr. Sherrod Williams, he declares it to be his opinion that no money should be taken from the Treasury of the United States to be expended for internal improvements *but for those which are strictly national.*

Once more, sir, and I am done with this part of the subject. He is also charged with being in favor of an imposing standing army. So, Mr. Speaker, is every citizen in favor of an army. And the present Secretary of War, in his last report, proposes to divide the United States into military districts, similar to the districts of Cromwell, and increase the army of militia to two hundred thousand men, one-half to be kept in active service. But it is well known that General Harrison's principal reliance for the defence of the country was not on a standing army, but on a well-disciplined militia. In proof of this we refer, among other things, to his report as chairman of the Committee on the Militia, made in the House on the 17th January, 1817, and to the following resolution, moved by him on the 3d of February, 1817 :

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire whether any, and, if any, what, amendments are necessary to the Constitution of the United States to enable the Government thereof to adopt such a system of military instruction and discipline for the militia as to make it a safe and effectual national defence."

And, sir, on the bill for the admission of cadets into the Military Academy, December 10, 1818, General Harrison was in favor of directing a preference to be given to the sons of officers and soldiers killed in battle, or who died in service during the late war, and a further preference to be given to those least able to educate themselves, and best qualified for the military profession.

Mr. Speaker, the services of General Harrison are fresh in the recollection of every Western man. If he were disposed to forget them, he could not. At every turn and corner he may observe some traces of the late or preceding war—the remains of camps, forts, block-houses, and other monumental mementoes, to remind him that a warrior had been there; and each spot carries with it some endearing and interesting recollections of the scenes which passed there, and with so many tongues reports afresh, in the language of the heart, the whole history of bloodshed, loss of life, of friends, and all the dismal horrors of the battle-field, and the cruelties of war; but they tell, too, that *here*, and here, and here, the enemy were routed, and victory turned in favor of our gallant little army, with Harrison at their head. Sir, the north of the district I have the honor to represent is lined with these remains of forts, block-houses, picketings, &c.

There, sir, is Fort Recovery, on the Wabash, in Mercer county, Ohio. At this fort was St. Clair's defeat in 1794, and the fort was recovered back by General Wayne a short time afterwards. Harrison was then one of General Wayne's aids-de-camp. Pass from this spot to the valley of the Auglaize, and there you have Fort Amanda, Fort Jennings, Fort Brown, and Fort Defiance, the last at the junction of the Auglaize with the Maumee river. The valley of the Maumee, below Defiance, has been almost a line of encampments. There was also the stronghold of the famous Simon Girty, (Girty's Point,) in a bend of the Maumee river. Here, too, on this river, was the seat and heat of action during the late war, (Fort Meigs,) a most commanding position, a little above the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee river. These mouldering remains bring fresh to recollection the unwearied diligence with which General Harrison and the army under him have sought to guard our Northern frontier.

Sir, Western men need no references to books to enable them to talk about General Harrison. There is a language more eloquent than that of the tongue—it is the language of gratitude—the language of the heart, in which they converse when Harrison's name is mentioned, and in which men, women, and children are all eloquent. And, if the gentleman from Michigan seeks votes for his party by detracting from the fame of that individual, he must go somewhere else than into the north of Ohio.

On this river, the Maumee, was fought the memorable battle of mad Anthony Wayne, so long remembered and dreaded by the Indians—a battle-field distinguished above all others for the slaughter of their race. Sir, it was in that school that our young officer received his first lessons in Indian warfare; it was under Wayne that he learned that order of March which has met with such decided reprobation from our experienced Michigan General. And it was in relation to the battle fought here in 1792 that General Wayne says, in a letter to the Secretary of War :

"My faithful and gallant Lieutenant Harrison rendered the most essential service, by communicating my orders in every direction, and by his conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory."

He had drank republicanism from his mother with the milk that nourished him. It had been instilled into him by his father among the earliest instructions of his youth. He had caught the military spirit from this distinguished commander, and his whole subsequent life has been but a development of the principles and feelings he then imbibed. Of that life it may be truly said that it has been spent throughout in the service of his country. His erect person, his stately carriage, his gentlemanly and finished manners, his amiable and sociable disposition, his condescension to inferiors, his warm heart, his open hand, together with his lofty character and his distinguished services, unite in designating him as eminently fitted to occupy the highest station in the Republic.

True, indeed, it is that a party which arrogates to itself the exclusive title of the democracy have ridiculed and sneered at this man on the avowed ground of his poverty. And why is he a poor man? Has he had no opportunity of becoming otherwise? Has he never filled offices of high trust and emolument? Yes, sir, his life has been spent in the high and honorable service

of his country. But, sir, he despised to fill his coffers and line his pockets with the public money, or to speculate by means of his offices for his own benefit. If the gentleman can make any thing out of this, he is welcome to it all. This poor man has been nominated as a candidate for the Presidential chair; but whence did that nomination come? Not from his own State only. It is the voice of the people of these United States—*of the Union*, which has called the unambitious farmer of the North Bend to leave his retirement, and climb once more the cold and dangerous crags of an eminent political station. They have called for him—the nation demands him—he is the people's candidate; and if the gentleman from Michigan expects his *pop-gun* attack is to prostrate a man who has filled the measure of his country's glory, I would advise him, at least, not to try the explosion among the people of the West. If they would learn the prospect of success from ribaldry like this, let them come into our Western villages—let them witness the spirit which has gone abroad in the land; they will find in the West one heart and soul; and however men may have differed on all other matters of a public or a political nature, as to the character, the bravery, the integrity, and the merits of William Henry Harrison, there is but one opinion from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains.

The Richmond Enquirer and its allies, who advocated the abolition of slavery in Virginia in the year 1832, traduce General Harrison and denounce him as an abolitionist; affecting now as much horror for abolition, as they professed in 1832 for slavery and a servile war. The annexed extracts from the leading abolition paper, will show that the abolitionists do not support General Harrison as an abolitionist, but admit that he is not one, and, therefore, recommends opposition to him.

To which we will add, that Mr. SLADE, of Vermont, the leading abolitionist in Congress, in a speech recently delivered in the House of Representatives, upon the subject of abolition, declared that the abolitionists knew that General Harrison was no abolitionist, and they did not support him as such; but that, like all other citizens, they had to choose a President, and those of them who preferred General Harrison to Mr. Van Buren, did so because he was the best and most fit man of the two.

"RITCHIE AND GARRISON UPON GENERAL HARRISON."

"We copy the following article from a late number of the *Emancipator*, (the *leading paper of the abolitionists*,) denouncing General Harrison for his *Southern feelings* and Southern VOTES! Ought not the conjunction between Thomas Ritchie and Lloyd Garrison, in opposition to General Harrison, to open the eyes of the Southern people to the game that is playing! We ask attention to Garrison's article, both on account of the *source* and the *substance*."

[From the *Emancipator*.]

GENERAL HARRISON.—Many have supposed that it might be expedient for the Executive Committee to interrogate General Harrison, now that he is the recognised candidate for the Presidency, with some prospect of election, to learn his views with respect to the abolition of slavery. But where is the use? It is true, we rejoice in the rejection of Henry Clay, because he is a slaveholder, and a defender of slavery. General Harrison, we know is not a slaveholder. Neither is Mr. Van Buren. But no one thinks it necessary to interrogate Mr. Van Buren. Why? Because his principles are known to be in favor of the ascendancy of the slave power. But are those of General Harrison any less so? He is the man of his party, and that party have shown the absoluteness of their subserviency, by nominating a slaveholder, a peculiarly bigoted devotee of slavery on the same ticket with General Harrison, and now by electing a nullifying slaveholder, from slave-breeding Virginia, for Speaker.

But we submit, further, that General Harrison's *principles* are already well known by his deeds, of which we find the following summary in the Rochester Freeman:

In December, 1802, while Governor of Indiana Territory, he was president of a convention of the people of that Territory, held at Vincennes, and transmitted to Congress a memorial of the convention, praying that the 6th article of the "Ordinance of '87," which prohibited slavery there, *might be suspended*. (See Am. State Papers, 1803.) His efforts to make Indiana a slave State, were prosecuted for years while he was Governor of that Territory.

In 1819, February 16, General Harrison voted as a member of the House of Representatives, *against* a clause prohibiting the further introduction of slavery in Missouri; and *against* a clause for the further emancipation (at 25) of slaves born within that State. Two days afterwards he voted *against* a clause prohibiting the future introduction of slavery into Arkansas, and *against* the future emancipation of slaves born in Arkansas.

So basely did he bow to slavery, that even Ohio was shocked. He was indignantly rejected at the next Congressional election in 1822. The National Intelligencer of October 20, 1822, says: "It is confirmed to us, that Mr. Gazely is elected in opposition to General Harrison. A

friend informs us, which we are sorry to learn, that he was opposed particularly on account of his adherence to that principle of the constitution which secures to the people of the South their pre-existing rights." It seems, then, that General Harrison claimed for the South the *right* to fasten slavery upon any soil which the nation might have or purchase.

He has had but little opportunity to act in a public capacity upon the subject of slavery since that time; but an address from his political friends in Virginia, in 1836, says, "he is sound to the core on the subject of slavery."

Under these circumstances, we submit that conscientious abolitionists are bound to regard the two parties and their candidates as standing precisely on the same ground—that of unlimited subservency to the dominion of Slavocracy. It is true, General Harrison's personal demonstrations are less recent than Mr. Van Buren's; but they are much stronger, for Mr. Van Buren helped to send Rufus King to the United States Senate to oppose slavery in Missouri, and he has never attempted to *extend* slavery to regions where it was already abolished. And further, the demonstrations of the Harrison party are more recent than those of the other. And if it is said that we shall give the old General a chance to repent of his pro-slavery, we reply, that it belongs to the man who repents to exhibit his own repentance. Certainly, there are no circumstances in the case which warrant the slightest presumptions in favor of his repentance. Let him or his friends, if they choose, show wherein his views now differ from his actions in 1802, and 1819, and 1836. And in default of this, let the friends of human rights come at once to the conviction, that the cause they have espoused, is by Divine Providence, entrusted to their own guardianship, and that for its success or failure their country and posterity will hold them responsible.

The Richmond Enquirer, and its co-laborers in the work of defamation, have published and denounced General Harrison as a supporter of the alien and sedition laws, although they have the evidence before them that he was not in Congress when those laws passed, and could not, therefore, have voted for them; and notwithstanding they have seen General Harrison's denial that he ever approved them. By such conduct, the defamers of General Harrison only prove that—

"He that stands upon a slippery place
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up."

But, even this "vile hold" shall not "stay them up." The subjoined extract, which we have reason to believe is from a distinguished citizen, must satisfy every fair man of the falsehood of the charge:

[From the Delaware State Journal.]

GENERAL HARRISON AND JOHN RANDOLPH.

A friend of ours, who has, for many years, been particular in recording passing events, has given us permission to copy from his *diary* the following passage, describing a scene which occurred in the Senate of the United States more than ten years ago. He happened to be in Washington at the period when the late Mr. Randolph was in the full career of the virulent warfare which he waged against the administration of Mr. Adams, and made the Senate Chamber, day after day, the theatre of his denunciations against him and his prominent supporters. Mr. Randolph lived long enough to acknowledge and lament the fatal mistake he had made in promoting the election of General Jackson; and his sincere repentance should be remembered to his credit, while we condemn the means by which he advanced that object. The scene described in the subjoined extract from the diary, is the identical one so often referred to in the Richmond Enquirer and other administration papers, when Mr. Randolph is said to have convicted General Harrison of the high crime of being a federalist—a crime deemed sufficiently heinous in some parts of our country to annihilate the man who is suspected of it, even under the administration of the man who pledged himself to put down the "MONSTER, PARTY SPIRIT."

EXTRACT. "1826, March 20.—I visited the Senate Chamber to day, and was fortunate enough to find the celebrated John Randolph on his legs, and in the middle of a speech—on what particular question, I could not learn from any thing he said; for it is a characteristic of his eloquence, that he rambles wide of the mark and speaks of almost every thing but the question really under discussion. He was, at this time, running a tilt against General Harrison, the Senator of Ohio, and the style in which he assailed him was so personal and acrimonious, that I was surprised he was permitted to proceed. He raked up the reminiscences of nearly thirty years, adverted to the period when Congress was sitting in Philadelphia, to the then called the standing army, Macpherson's blues, the alien and sedition laws, and all the by-gone political sins of that day, and, turning to General Harrison, with a most ferocious aspect, and pointing to him with his long finger, he charged him with being a black-cockade federalist of '98, a standing army man, one who had voted for the alien and sedition laws, and had been hand and glove with the leading party in

power. He designated him a 'military satrap,' who had been appointed a governor of provinces by John Adams, &c., &c. He pursued this strain of vituperation for some fifteen minutes, when some other idea seized his wayward fancy and led him upon another scent.

"As soon as he sat down, General Harrison rose, and, as I thought, with remarkable coolness and temper, considering the virulent and unprovoked character of the attack, observed, that the extraordinary manner in which his name had been brought before the Senate, by the Senator from Virginia, probably required some notice from him, though he scarcely knew how to treat such a charge as had been advanced against him seriously. The gentleman had charged him with being a black-cockade federalist of '98, and with having voted for the standing army and the alien and sedition laws. He had not so fertile a memory as the gentleman from Virginia, nor could he, at command, call up all the transactions of nearly thirty years ago. He could say, however, that, at the time alluded to, he was not a party man in the sense the Senator from Virginia used. He was a delegate of a Territory which was just then rising into importance, and, having no vote on the general questions before Congress, it was neither his duty nor the interest of those whom he represented, to plunge into the turbulent sea of general politics which then agitated the nation. There were questions of great importance to the Northwestern Territory: then before Congress—questions upon the proper settlement of which, the future prosperity of that now important portion of the Union greatly depended. Standing, as he did, the sole representative of that Territory, his greatest ambition was to prove himself faithful to his trust, by cherishing its interests, and nothing could have been more suicidal or pernicious to those he represented, than for him to exasperate either party by becoming a violent partisan, without the power of aiding either party, because he had no vote on any political question. This was his position, and, although he had his political principles as firmly fixed as those of the gentleman from Virginia, it was no business of his to strike where he could not be felt, and where the blow must recoil upon himself and those whom he represented. He wore no cockade, black or tri-colored, at that day, and never wore one but when he was in the military service of his country. But he was seriously charged with the heinous offence of associating with *federal* gentlemen. He plead guilty; he respected the revolutionary services of President Adams, and had paid him that courtesy which was due to him as a man and as Chief Magistrate. He also associated with such men as John Marshall and James A. Bayard. Was the acknowledgment of such guilt to throw him out of the pale of political salvation?

"On the other hand, he was on intimate terms with Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Gallatin, and with the whole Virginia delegation, among whom he had many kinsmen and dear friends. They were his principal associates in Philadelphia, in whose mess he had often met the gentleman who was now his accuser, and with whom he had spent some of the happiest hours of his life. It was true, as the Senator alleged, he had been appointed Governor of the Northwestern Territory by John Adams; so had he been by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. He was not in Congress when the standing army was created, and the alien and sedition laws were passed; and, if he had been, he could not not have voted for them, and would not if he could. It was not in his nature to be a violent or proscriptive partisan, but he had given a firm support to the republican administrations of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. He hoped the Senator from Virginia was answered. He was sure the Senate must be wearied with this frivolous and unprofitable squabble."

"I have gone somewhat into detail in recording General Harrison's remarks, for I was very favorably impressed with the promptitude, self-possession, and propriety of his reply to the rude attack made upon him. He carried away all the laurels. Mr. Randolph, however, returned to the attack, in a long stream of vituperation, interrupted only by an eloquent tribute to Chief Justice Marshall. Being the first time I had heard him, I listened to him attentively. It is impossible not to be deeply interested by the originality of thought and expression, the play of genius and talent, and the various information which are mingled in the harangues of this eccentric man, with an utter disregard for the feelings of others, and of the common decencies of life. At the same time, it is impossible not to feel that he is entirely out of place in the Senate of the United States. Several Senators with whom I have conversed speak of him as one who is alike injurious to the character and efficiency of the Senate; his frequent desultory and irrelevant harangues retard its business, while the acrimony and virulence of his tone must lower its dignity in the public estimation. Mr. Calhoun is censured for not exercising his authority as presiding officer in regard to Mr. Randolph. He seems, indeed, to have gained that kind of ascendancy in the Senate, that while no one approves his conduct, every one is afraid of him. He says what he pleases, and does as he pleases, and there are none to say to him nay. Some excuse him on the score of insanity, and there is certainly a good deal in his conduct and appearance to favor the idea; but, if this be the case, why is he where he is? A Senator of one of the first States of the confederacy! Mr. Randolph's person is like his manner and his history—peculiar. A tall thin figure, a small head, piercing eyes, cadaverous complexion, short waist and long legs, with a peculiarly effeminate and clear voice. He dresses more like a gentleman this session, it is said, than he has been known to do for many years. A blue coat and waistcoat, drab breeches, white topped boots, jockey cap, and his hair tied by a single string, constitute the costume of this Virginia Senator:

"A man so various that he seems to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome."





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